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AUTHOR Woods, Richard G.; Harkins, Arthur M.
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ABSTRACT

A large amount of discussion during the hearings of the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968-69 visits to 5 major cities was concerned with education. This report organizes the urban Indian concerns and characteristics about education evidenced during the hearings. Much is included in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. Discussed in the document are areas of concern in Indian education, such as the high dropout rate, counseling and guidance, inadequacy of resources, teachers of Indian children, Indian involvement in education, and the language problem. Action recommendations for Indian education presented during the hearings are reproduced in full in the appendix to this report. (JH)

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS
HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY
PART I: EDUCATION

by

Richard G. Woods
Arthur M. Harkins



Training Center for Community Programs
in coordination with
Office of Community Programs
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs

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Minneapolis, Minnesota

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Introduction

This report deals with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968 - 1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial federal government and local community action.

The NCIO came into being in March, 1968 by Presidential Executive Order Number 11399. Chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, its cabinet members were designated as the Secretaries of Interior; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The six appointed Indian members of the Council were:

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians

La Donna Harris, Comanche, Organization Official, Housewife, Chairman Urban (Off-Reservation) Indians

William Hensley, Alaska Native, Representative of Alaska State Legislature

Roger Jourdain, Chippewa, Chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians

Raymond Nakai, Navajo, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council

Cato Valandra, Sioux, Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council

The NCIO appointed Mrs. La Donna Harris to chair an inquiry into the conditions of life for urban Indians. In each metropolitan area selected, resident Indians and representatives of government or social agencies that deal with Indians were invited to attend and discuss problems in the areas of education, housing, employment, recreation, social services and justice.

The sequence of the hearings was as follows:

Los Angeles, California	December 16-17, 1968
Dallas, Texas	February 13-14, 1969
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota	March 18-19, 1969
San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indians), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices - Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of total (rural and urban) Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

This report will organize the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with education. The attempt has been to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable decisions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such subtleties

as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoenix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

It should be noted (as a matter of fact and not apology) that the two authors of this report are non-Indian.

A large amount of discussion during the hearings had to do with education. Education at all levels - from the informal learning via mass media stereotypes of Indians to public and parochial elementary and secondary schooling to college for Indians to BIA vocational training - was the subject of many viewpoints, criticisms and aspirations. Some of the emphasis upon education may have stemmed from then current public attention (such as the activities of the U.S. Senate's Indian Education Sub-committee), but it is also clear from the testimony that long-standing and deeply-felt feelings about education were involved.

The Value of Education

Some persons who appeared before the NCIO Committee affirmed the value of education for Indian people. One Phoenix Indian man (himself well educated, according to his testimony) saw education as the key to equality and viable Indianness:

It really goes back to the fact that those of us who have made it find it very comfortable to be an Indian. Hell, it is easy to be an Indian if you are educated and employed and skilled, and if you have got all the goodies that everybody else has outside the reservation. You can accept the fact that people will call you an Indian Chief because you have got everything that they have and sometimes more.

It is like being a Negro. If a Negro person has acquired all the skills and all the credentials that he needs in the outside to compete, anybody and everybody can call him nigger and it is not going to affect him because he has got every damned thing they have except his different color.

...We have got to really help those people that are uneducated, unskilled -- unemployed Indian people -- to remove those hurdles one at a time so that eventually we wind up with an educated, trained and employed Indian person who can also enjoy being an Indian.¹

In Los Angeles, an Indian student from the University of California at Santa Barbara found education to be an essential ingredient in militant self-determination for Indian people:

We have found that when you are talking about people determining their own destiny, the one thing that is very necessary is education. If someone is going to liberate themselves, if people are going to be truly free, they have to determine their own educational policies.²

A San Francisco witness spoke about Indian identity and education:

...many times the Indian's idea of keeping his identity - he thinks he's going to lose that if he gets an education. My children know how to talk Winnebago Indian, and they're both in high school. So, education doesn't have anything to do with it. In fact, I think it would really increase the culture.³

One background report submitted to the NCIO committee by a Los Angeles witness commented that:

It is remarkable that Indian leaders have chosen to attack their problems with the attitude that "education is the key." After being relegated to second class citizenship and fourth-or-fifth class living conditions for several generations, education is a unique approach by an ethnic group in the United States today.

The report continues to note that the educational approach is significant because it was proposed by Indians themselves and because:

Past history has shown that schools are used by the conquerors to destroy the culture and ways of life of the conquered people. By changing the school system the Indians are partially negating the effects of the conquest.⁴

Affirmation of the value of education came from a Dallas witness, who put it this way:

The two basic needs of the Indian people are education and assistance in strengthening their economic position. All the evidence, past and present, points to the value of education, general education and vocational education. Indians themselves, old and young, full bloods and mixed bloods, believe education is essential to the advancement of their people.⁵

Another Indian witness in Dallas made this statement:

If we're ever going to make a change, it's now, and it's going to be gained through education.⁶

A woman who identified herself as half Cherokee pointed out that:

I have had the advantages of going to school at Oklahoma State and Southern Methodist University which, of course, makes a difference. I sit on the fence and can see equally in both directions.⁷

One witness quoted her Indian neighbor as saying:

I wish there was some way I could just get help because it's getting very disgusting....I only had a fourth grade education, and I can't talk like I want to talk.⁸

A Minneapolis Indian professional emphasized that:

I can still remember my father saying to me, "Son, you go to school. You get an education so you don't have to be a dummy like me."⁹

Another Minneapolis Indian man testified:

Two of the greatest people who ever lived on this earth were my mother and dad, they encouraged me. My dad had a third grade education and was a lumberman, a trapper, and a fisherman all his life. My mother had a fourth grade education. Both of them together, for many, many years told me how important it was to get an education...Because of the dreams implanted in my heart by my people, my tribal leaders and my parents, I had the guts to finish and get the kind of education that could help me.¹⁰

An Oregon Indian man, appearing before the Committee in San Francisco, saw the importance of education in this light:

I would like to see the Indian learn to help himself. The primary problem is the education of all Indians. I could use more education. I think there is a lot of people that could use more education, and if it was there for me, I would use it. I think this is the thing that all of the Indians need....The Indians are just about the same as they were 150 years ago. The Indian population is increasing, and we're going to have that many more people -- poor Indian people -- if they don't have help, and better education.¹¹

In addition to those who explicitly declared their faith in education there were many who appeared before the Committee in occupations or roles which had to do with education, and there were many others whose testimony implied their belief in the value of education.

Many witnesses were critical of the educational process and had suggestions for its improvement, but seemed to endorse its utility in general.¹²

Education, then, was perceived as potentially having many valuable facets. It could lead to a secure Indian identity and equality with others. It could foster a functional bi-culturalism. It could be essential to self-determination, advancement, change, and overcoming the effects of the historic conquest. It could be central to getting along in a non-Indian society and to achieving upward mobility. It could be vital to self-help efforts intended to eradicate Indian poverty.

A few, however, perceived education - or the effect of education upon Indian people - as singularly disadvantageous and beyond simple reform. A militant college student in Los Angeles thought the city's school system evidenced colonialism or imperialism.¹³

In Los Angeles, an Indian man reported:

I got a boy, he is a dropout, and he said, "what's the reason for letting me go?" I told him if he wasn't happy there, to quit.

I went back to the reservation to try to get him in school back there. They said, "No, you don't live here any more."

One person told me, "Why don't you have him get in trouble, and then they'll send him to any school he wants."

That's another funny way of doing things. Why don't they just set up a reform school for Indian kids or something?¹⁴

A Minneapolis militant seemed resentful of "expertise" and education and hinted at possible detrimental social stratification resulting from education when he said:

We have been accused by some of our great white Indian experts in town and some of our Indian experts who feel that you have to have a college degree to take care of your problems, and to really understand what the system is. We maintain the people who are going to make the changes are the people who have faced the conditions. I know because I am one of them.¹⁵

A woman student at Arizona State University, while apparently committed to higher education herself, described the conflicts it causes for Indian people as follows:

Many people think, oh, young Indian people going into college, it is really wonderful. And we are separated from the rest of the so-called Indian students who are not even going into school, but going into something else. A lot of times many of us resent this because it draws boundaries, and it sets us apart, and it is a reminder to us that we are set apart from our people. We don't want this.

...You see, I think that one of the biggest problems is that many of us are realizing that we, just by the mere fact of going into college, are becoming, and I like this phrase, potential enemies not only to ourselves but to our own people just by the mere fact of getting an education, because we go out into the world; we see this other side of life, this other world that we didn't know anything about. And there is so much confusion and conflict and turmoil, and we don't know how to make it or how to adjust to it. That is one of the problems on campus that many of the students have to deal with.¹⁶

Another female Indian college student, appearing before the Committee in Phoenix, wanted to go to school while retaining her Indianness. She spoke of problems which:

can be compounded after you have finished high school. When you have finished high school, you are sort of put on a pedestal. This is when the trouble begins.¹⁷

Further light upon the discomforting effects of education to Indian social structure is provided by the comments of a Minneapolis Indian man who was employed by the National Alliance of Businessmen to secure employment for low-income and minority persons.

So my belief is this: if we want to know what a problem is, we have to go to that individual involved in that program. I say this to the crowd and to the board, and following in line with this, if we are going to have sufficient knowledge, we have sufficient money to deal with inner city problems. Hennepin County alone is about 70 million a year. The poverty programs would bring this up to a hundred million dollars a year available to help the down and out. We have vast numbers of people with degrees in all areas, yet they are not able to do the job. This seems to be true in the black as well as the Indian community. So what basically is the problem is we have people who are not sensitive, who are unwilling to give any of themselves. In other words, when 4:30 comes they are off and home to their nice little comfortable places.

So one of the biggest problems at the present time is the Indian expert. He is shielding the way and Boards such as yourselves, who comes along from government that would pull strings, are given this false picture. The people who give the picture, are not involved in that inner city community. Come 5:00 o'clock Friday night and 10:00 o'clock Monday morning you are all alone. Forget the community centers, forget any of these agencies. There are very, very few people in them who are what we call dedicated to the extent they would give a little more than that eight-hour shift.

...I would like to talk about education today. As I analyze these school dropout situations, and spending some time in the evenings with the kids, I feel if we in any way are ever going to innovate a program of some value to the dropout, we are going to have to go to the dropout and see how they feel. What is wrong? What caused you to dislike that school? What caused you to dislike that teacher? Where and when did the disinterest come? These decisions and these things are going to have to be made with a combined effort of those individuals that are involved in the program and those other individual who do have the expertise or the knowledge. Then put them together and come out with a solution, but the minute you classify one individual above or beneath another, you are in trouble because knowledge not only comes from a higher source but it can also come from another source. I don't necessarily believe in classifying one individual above, not disregarding talents that are more rare and deserve more pay, however, as individuals. What we do need, I think I am trying to say, is equitable treatment of all Indians by other Indians, and by people who are administrating [sic] Indian programs. [emphasis added by the authors]

To emphasize his point the witness introduced two Indian "dropouts" to the Committee for questioning. The following is an excerpt from this exchange:

MR. CHARLES DEEGAN:.... Tonight I have with me two young people. They are not articulate people as far as giving public speeches, but I wanted to bring them primarily for the benefit of the Board, to put questions to these kids. Ask them any question and hopefully the kids will answer from their heart. They are not going to impress you with anything or perform. I would like to have the kids come and stand together, and have the Board ask some questions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are they still in the school system?

MR. CHARLES DEEGAN: They have both dropped out.

JAMES WESTBROOK: I am still in school.

MR. CHARLES DEEGAN: Oh, yes? Well come on up then. You are a potential dropout. This young fellow is, I only know him by Bimbo Westbrook.

JAMES WESTBROOK: I am James Westbrook.

MR. CHARLES DEEGAN: James Westbrook, originally from the Red Lake Reservation. And the girl here, Dolly is all I know her by.

DOLLY ROGERS: Dolly Rogers. Beverly Rogers.

MR. CHARLES DEEGAN: He is 15 and she is 16. Okay. If you want to ask them some questions go ahead.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did I understand, Beverly is it?

DOLLY ROGERS: Call me Dolly.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have dropped out of school?

DOLLY ROGERS: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: How long have you been out of school?

DOLLY ROGERS: It's been a year now.

THE CHAIRMAN: What grade were you in at the time?

DOLLY ROGERS: I was in tenth.

THE CHAIRMAN: What are you doing now?

DOLLY ROGERS: Now I am going to the University of Minnesota. They take one high school dropout and to see how I am doing, and if I keep it up they will take some more Indian dropouts over there.

THE CHAIRMAN: It's a special continuation of your school?

DOLLY ROGERS: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you enjoy the University school better than the public school?

DOLLY ROGERS: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Can you tell me why?

DOLLY ROGERS: The people over there seem a lot more different than people in a public school.

THE CHAIRMAN: In what way?

DOLLY ROGERS: They act themselves.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are your classes similar?

DOLLY ROGERS: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: How many are in your dropout University class?

DOLLY ROGERS: I am in General College. That's where the rest of them are. High school graduates, but I am not.

THE CHAIRMAN: Why did you drop out of high school do you think?

DOLLY ROGERS: I don't know. I just didn't like it.

THE CHAIRMAN: You didn't like your teacher or didn't like your subject?

DOLLY ROGERS: I didn't like the teachers. I didn't like the subjects. I didn't like nothing about the class.

THE CHAIRMAN: You feel good about the University studies that you are taking? Do you feel like you have a chance of completing those?

DOLLY ROGERS: Yes.

Further dialogue between the Chairman and James Westbrook established that the boy, although still enrolled in school, was contemplating dropping out because he didn't like his inner-city junior high school with its boarded up windows (Westbrook: "You ain't got a clear window in the school."), because he thought the teachers were prejudiced, and because he felt left out. When asked by Committee member Jourdain if the Indian students in his school all received the same treatment, Westbrook replied in the negative, then said:

JAMES WESTBROOK: If you a little darker colored than them, ... they don't like you, that's my point.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you think you could join the same kind of program that Dolly is involved in? Are you interested in doing something like that?

JAMES WESTBROOK: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you want to go to school?

JAMES WESTBROOK: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: If you had some other place to go to school?

JAMES WESTBROOK: Yes. See, I was staying with my grandmother up north, and I left a nice school up there, no broken windows or nothing, nice clean modern school to come down here to a dirty old mess.

It developed that young Westbrook had moved to Minneapolis to live with his mother and five brothers and sisters, and that he thought he might leave school to take a job.

Later in his testimony, Mr. Deegan elaborated upon his perception of the problems caused by Indian higher education:

As I examine it now one of the things that exists here is, what we call a classing of people or we esteem one better than another. We esteem the Indian with a degree better than the Indian that has dropped out of the sixth grade. We say that this one is not capable and that one is more capable. What we have is a rejection of each other. I asked Sol Tax, the fellow that was over on this. I said, "Mr. Tax, how come the Indian people reject the educated Indian? Is it

because of their education?" He said, "No, they do not reject him because of his education. They reject him for the way he acts today." I think that is a real good conclusion or even a hypothetical answer, and yet, there may be some validity to it. I have noticed that many Indians who have completed college are extremely conceited and are so proud, they look down on you like you are a piece of dirt. I think this is why they are ineffective in coordinating between the two types of people.¹⁸

A college student in Phoenix described the problem as follows:

The people that I have met and talked to, the students, some of them are very bitter, and some of them do not want to go back to their reservation. Some of them want to go back, but yet they have condemned their own people by saying that Indians are bad because they will not excel. Maybe they don't because they have seen what is on the outside. They have seen that you can earn money and live it. But under this they have lost their spirit, or whatever you call it, of being an Indian. This hurts me because I haven't lived through the hardships that many of them have experienced.

I talked to one boy who is a teacher now. He said he does not want to go back to the reservation because of the way they treated him. He was not specific on how he was treated, but it is just I think that he was talking about the attitude of people toward the Indian students if they are on the reservation and maybe are going to Casa Grande or to Coolidge or to the other cities near.¹⁹

Later in her testimony, the same college student concluded:

People who have gone to college or who have gone to technical schools or vocational schools, they reject their own people... These are the people who hurt their own people....they become enemies of their own people in learning these new things and trying to help your Indian people by saying that you are an Indian leader. I have gone through the same thing.²⁰

There was deep concern among some Indians who appeared before the Committee, then, that education on balance would be damaging because it would be used as a colonialist or imperialist tool and because it would operate to reject Indian people. There was considerable concern that it would remove some Indians from their people and render them ineffective in serving other Indians, that it would set them apart as a special "class,"

that it would create division among, Indian people, that it would make some Indians more valuable than others, that it would cause some Indians to look down upon others, and that it would create disrespect for those Indians who do not excel.

These comments suggest that - for at least some urban Indians - the potential effects of education in terms of social stratification are disturbing and may be viewed as detrimental to the maintenance or revival of a traditionally simple form of social organization and destructive of the sense of Indian community. It is difficult to assess the strength of this pressure running counter to educational achievement, but the issue of education and its value may be a characteristic distinction between Indian conservatives and progressives, following the Wax dichotomy.²¹ Certainly, fear of the possible disastrous consequences of education upon "Indianness," when added to the highly publicized and almost totally negative appraisal of the current state of Indian education by the recent Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education²² could constitute a powerful rationale for avoidance or subversion of the formal educational process by suspicious Indians. Interestingly, those Indians who appeared before the NCIO Committee as professional educators ignored the conservative viewpoint or seemed confused as to how to handle it.

Indian Education Problems - The High Dropout Rate

Many specific problems with Indian education were perceived and identified by various witnesses in the five cities.

Awareness of, and concern about, the high rate of school drop-outs among Indians was apparent in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Minneapolis.²³ Although there was some uncertainty about the exact magnitude of the drop-out problem because of difficulties with keeping school records by ethnicity, witnesses in these three cities acknowledged the seriousness of the problem and estimated Indian drop-out rates from 60% to 95%. In Dallas and Phoenix

little reference was made to school drop-outs, although transcripts suggest that this may have been due to relative lack of Indian and non-Indian community organization around such institutional problems as Indian education.

In addition to this basic index of formal education failure - the drop-out rate - other problems were elaborated by witnesses, sometimes in the light of contributory factors to the drop-out problem, and sometimes simply in the perspective of especially ineffective or obstructive elements in the public schooling process.

Negative feelings toward schooling which originated with federal Indian school experiences are illustrated by the comments of an Indian woman in San Francisco:

You say, "Start with the young people." Well, you are starting with the young people. You are putting them into these Government schools; you are teaching them the brutality that can be inflicted on them. What kind of a child are you going to have when he hits the streets?

Your child should be taught to be proud of his heritage. The day that he enters that Indian school, he should be told that it is an honor for him to go to school with his own people so that he may learn his culture and maintain his culture.

I, too, went to a Government school. That was way back in 1934, and the cruelty existed then, because I have scars on my body that will show you. And although the woman is dead now, the matron that was over our building in our Indian school was a sadist, pure and simple, a Texan...

And one time, when I was only 12 years old, she locked me in a dark closet, about four by six, where they stored toilet paper. She took the lightbulb out; I had no toilet facilities, nothing. This was because I defended my little nine year old sister. That cruelty existed even then. She left me there for 10 hours; no food, not water, no toilet facilities.

So, like any rebellious child, I unrolled every roll of toilet paper in that place. For that I was restricted to the campus for four months. I couldn't take my little fifty cents and go to town.

At night time, little girls, eight and nine years old who wet the bed - she would come in with a bucket of water and say, "you like to be wet; I'll show you," and she'd pour it on them.

These things still exist. My nephew attended Chemawa Indian School because he happened to be an orphan, and before we were able to go to court and rescue him he was there. That was just a few years ago. The cruelty was still existent there. When I went to Chemawa Indian School, it took me six hours to see him, and he was bare-footed. Because he had tried to run away, they took his shoes from him, and there he went.

This is all under policy; this is the type of justice that the American Indian is entitled to under our Constitution. You are not going to change anything in the way of justice for the American Indian until you do away with policy.²⁴

It should be noted parenthetically, that not all adult Indians reported negative educational experiences, despite the often-recounted maltreatment cases of Indian children. Some Indians reported favorable boarding school experiences,²⁵ and one Indian woman who appeared in Phoenix displayed positive feelings about her own mission school education:

As a young girl I left the reservation and went to school, but I was very fortunate to go to mission schools where teachers cared enough to take an interest in us. I give credit to the mission school teachers for how far I have gone, for what I have seen, for what I have done, for what I know that our Indian people are capable of doing.²⁶

Schools were said to perpetuate a negative Indian image by allowing the use of stereotypes in textbooks, by failing to deal accurately with the history and culture of Indians, and by failing to correct inadequate curricula and teacher training.

One Minneapolis Indian man emphasized:

All you have to do is just look at the school books and see that Indians are referred to as bucks or squaws, lazy, dirty, drunk, savage, mean, and hostile. All these adjectives applied to Indians are the very thing this young Indian is reading in school. By the time he is in seventh or ninth grade, he has had it. He might as well have the game

as the name because there is no point in trying to make it if this is the way the white society looks at me. I might as well be one.

In Los Angeles, a representative of the California Indian Education Association suggested:

For instance, if the textbooks -- if they could teach history as it is -- the truth as it really is, I think everything would be all right. Our education level would certainly increase. Rather than repulsing education, Indians would probably go for education.²⁸

A Phoenix Indian woman pointed out:

I have always encouraged my children to get as much education as they can. But having to live in town, it was very difficult for us. My children's teachers or counselors were always running them down. They would say, well, Indians don't do that. Indians don't get into certain things. I mean they have already classified them. They don't even know what they can do.²⁹

In San Francisco, an Indian representative of the Human Rights Commission stated:

Some students not only have a problem in adjusting to urban living, but are faced with unfavorable conditions in our public school systems. Those conditions that pertain to the American Indian range from the lack of understanding by school officials, to false and misleading statements in school textbooks. Many of these textbooks do much damage to the Indian child's sense of identity and personal worth. In recognizing that a revolution needs to be made in the State's textbooks, the Human Rights Commission has begun a program to explore this problem by establishing a reading panel to make a comprehensive survey of the textbooks in the San Francisco Unified School District.

The Indian community has been invited to participate.³⁰

In Minneapolis, an Indian woman employed by an educational agency declared:

...it is necessary for teachers and the community in general to be aware of the Indian's attitudes and preferred life style. These may differ in some aspects from the mainstream goals and attitudes, perhaps only in intensity, but the difference still seems to exist.³¹

Another Minnesota Indian, a reservation-based anti-poverty program director, testified that:

I think for many of the younger people today, part of the problem is the fact that the systems we come from, the educational systems back on the reservations, have a great effect on the success or failure at the urban society. The teacher system in these schools that we came from, are inadequate, inefficient, and substandard. We get many of those teachers today who are not trained teachers. They are there because this is where they can get money, have a career, can get a job. As a result, what do we have? We have curriculums that are not standard. ³²

An Indian woman in Los Angeles said:

...California Indian history is significant to the education of every child in that school. I think that the Los Angeles School District, unless they really change textbooks, will not be very different from my experience with California Indian history taught in the fourth grade, with the exception of two chapters on California Indian artifacts. It starts with the mission period and does not go into what actually happened. It doesn't present it as an imperialistic movement. ³³

Indeed, the public schools were seen by numerous Indian witnesses as the villain in the problem of low self-esteem, and hopes for improvement in the Indian image seemed to rest upon changes in the public schools and in the mass media. A highly-placed educator in Minnesota, himself an Indian, saw the problem in these terms:

So the problem of parents and school has to be resolved, in my judgment, before we are going to make school relevant to the needs of Indian boys and girls in Minnesota. At this point, I don't think it is relevant. It is not meeting the needs of these kids, and we can rationalize all we want about economic conditions and social conditions. These may have a bearing, but at least in my judgment, I don't think that schools are reaching these youngsters. It's middle class orientated [sic] and their values and attitudes are being forced upon kids who do not know what they are talking about. As they go through the schools with this type of teaching and learning experiences, they become disinterested and parents themselves cannot relate to this situation. We are finding that the drop-out is not necessarily only in the junior high. We find it's very prevalent in upper elementary school. It may not be drop-out, it just

may be not attending, but it is playing a very strong role in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

It's especially true when we talk about the migration or the mobility of the Indian people from reservation areas to the Twin Cities.

We are finding, there are young boys and girls who are transferring from schools as many as 13 times in one year. These are elementary boys and girls. We are not sure what the attempt on the part of the school is to keep these kids in school. They pass it off lightly many times. The reaction we get is they don't know where, they are, but we know they are in the Twin City area.

The other areas have been talked about and emphasized; the curriculum certainly is a major factor. No youngster wants to go through the school system seeing himself depicted as something less than a human being. We have a lot of work to do with curriculum.³⁴

Similarly, a Minneapolis Indian militant, after describing a case of truancy which he thought was mis-handled, found the fault to lie squarely with the schools:

When we speak of justice, who is responsible for this? Is the mother responsible? I spoke to several Indians this morning at an advisory board meeting and they wanted to blame the parents. They said the student is responsible. I don't think so. I think the educational system in the State of Minnesota and all across the nation is responsible for these drop-outs...We know from reading statistics in every Indian book, magazine, or paper that the Indian student, when he enters school in the first, second, third grade, comes to know himself as a savage...There is nothing in the textbooks today portraying the Indian as he really is. Because of this, the students run into problems right away in school.³⁵

In earlier Minneapolis testimony, Chairman Harris had noted:

The fact is that social problems are the problems that make the child drop out more than the pressures of the parent. It's not the parent's fault.³⁶

In sum, there was much sentiment that the schools were largely responsible for the high Indian drop-out rate through the utilization of textbooks with negative Indian images, through inappropriate treatment of Indian history and culture, through poor curricula, through faulty teacher training, through the employment of inadequate teachers, through insensitivity to Indian values and life styles, and through a general assault upon the personal worth of Indian children. In addition, some Indian adults displayed feelings of hostility and distrust toward the schooling process based upon their own schooling experiences.

The significance of the Indian parents' role - in terms more specific than "involvement" - was seldom dealt with during the hearings. There were two notable exceptions. First, the thoughtful analysis of education problems and recommendations for action by the California Indian Education Association, which was introduced in Los Angeles, emphasized the crucial significance of the Indian parent's role by specifying parental actions intended to ensure success in school. It was noted that:

Behavioral patterns of many Indian parents need to be modified in order to provide the home environment necessary for building a positive self-image.³⁷

A second recognition of the significance of Indian parental influence came from an Indian man in Phoenix:

Most of the Indian kids get no encouragement. They get no reward. They get no satisfactions from going to school. But on the other hand, the parents say, yes, sure, education is great. You have got to have it. But for what? What kind of satisfaction do you get in school when the only person you are trying to please is yourself.

I think most Indian kids go through this. They never get any family satisfaction; never hear from any adult that really takes an active interest in what they are doing there, because the world of schools that a parent went through and the schools our kids are going through right now are really worlds apart.

I think the parents would like to be interested, but they don't know how to be interested. I think the kids would like to see them interested, but don't really know how to explain the situation to them. You know sociology and psychology and things like that really don't make a hell of a lot of sense to our parents. What we really need, I think, for the kids, you know, just little things, I mean really a question once in a while about how are you doing in school, how are you doing financially, what kind of organizations do you belong to, who are your friends, what do you do for entertainment. Nobody asks the questions.³⁸

Counseling and Guidance

Success or failure in school was seen by some Indian witnesses as being closely related to the availability of suitable counseling and guidance. In Los Angeles, a number of young Indian adults attend vocational and technical schools under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A group of these students, calling themselves the "Indian Student Action Council," had prepared an "Indian Student's Bill of Rights," which specified, in part:

A. The BIA should place students, who have had high school or college work, in colleges here, rather than in manual-training courses. Few students are counseled for professional or technical jobs. The BIA has set low goals for students. Their potential is not realized and their leadership is not felt in the larger community. Today's market demands more highly developed skills....

B. The over-all services of the BIA should be made clear to students during the orientation period. Medical coverage especially should be more fully explained. A booklet could be provided. A tour of the city would be helpful. One expressed the idea of using Indian students to greet newcomers. A number of students were confused as to whether dental services are provided or not.

C. Students should have more meaningful contacts with their counselors after placement in schools. There could be a regular date for visiting schools.

D. The waiting period at the BIA office for counseling services should be shortened. Students have waited in the office for several hours before a counselor sees them.

E. The local BIA director claims that "his office has long been the largest office of its type in the United States, and I believe one of the most progressive in terms of providing sound, professional counseling and service to Indian students." What does he mean by professional counseling? "In particular, I refer to a qualified staff of counselors." What are their qualifications?³⁹

In Minneapolis, the Chairman of the University of Minnesota's American Indian Student Council stressed guidance from other Indian students:

One of the very important things I think the University has included in the program has been a one-to-one basis for new students. For example, the members of the American Indian Student Council have volunteered to take the time to be a one-to-one buddy, introducing the new Indian student to the campus. We hope we will have an office where all the red tape will be rolled into one ball, and one guy will be responsible. If something goes wrong, we can get one guy. These are the kind of things that really frustrate not only Indians but everybody else over at the campus. They run around for days trying to find buildings, papers, counsellors, etc. We feel it's tough enough if you have been born and raised in the city, but if you are coming where you haven't had the experience, the University looks like a big jumble of buildings. It's even a worse experience.⁴⁰

Another Indian man, testifying in Minneapolis, said:

Someone mentioned earlier about the vocational training programs we have in Minnesota. Unfortunately, I got involved with this type of problem with the Department of Education. We had a little battle with bureaucracy, with the Federal Government and the state government, as far as who is going to do what, and what is going to happen. The end result is that the Indian will suffer as far as training goes. Monies are the problem. This was remedied temporarily, although many hard feelings were felt by the people in the establishment. Today the Indian children are receiving vocational training at the 20 some vocational schools we have in Minnesota.

Their counselling programs are not sufficient to warrant them to search for the situations they will meet. They should have the opportunity to go to vocational training schools where they want to go, regardless of some bureaucratic philosophy that Indians are going to be coming into

the mainstream and should go to Minneapolis or St. Paul and become lost in the shuffle or sink or swim.

Some of the vocational training programs and problems we have had are in the areas of skills. Someone here mentioned earlier that the skills are inadequate, that the jobs are not there for the types of skills people are being trained for. It wasn't too long ago that Indian people were trained to be beauticians, if you were a girl. If you were a man, you could become a welder, or if you were pretty good with your hands, and if you could clean yourself up, you could become a barber. Those types of things are outmoded now. We want to become, as young Indian people, part of the labor skills and the professional skills. We would like to become lawyers, educators involved in private investments, private concerns, etc.⁴¹

In Dallas, an Indian mother wanted to see counseling help come from Indian men:

As for education, I understand there's a lot of organizations willing to help our teenagers with scholarships and different things. I think it would be great if we could have a contact from an Indian party or Indian man. A man would go further, to reach these contacts and make this known to the mothers and fathers, especially of teenagers who will be completing school. It isn't always known. I know a few are probably up to date on a lot of this, most are like I was, they're not. If we have something like that, I think it would be worthwhile. We're not going to get it for ourselves, but maybe in the next generation things will be better.⁴²

Also in Dallas, Chairman Harris concluded:

In most cases, whether an individual succeeds or not, is due to the type of counselling and guidance he receives and the attention he receives.⁴³

In San Francisco, the Director of an Indian Center explained the need for counselors in these terms:

The lack of encouragement by some parents, who themselves have a limited education, indicates that counselors are very much in need.⁴⁴

Again, in San Francisco, an Indian corrections officer pointed out:

The counselor, the educated counselor, is really uneducated in dealing with the Indians.⁴⁵

In Los Angeles one witness asserted that vocational training students experienced prolonged delays in getting to see their BIA counselors, that counselors sometimes "brow-beat" the students, and that it sometimes seemed that counselors did not care about the students.⁴⁶ Another Indian person, a former vocational student, said he really wanted to be a commercial artist, but because he did not have the formal qualifications - a high school diploma - he was trained as a body and fender repairman.⁴⁷ Another Los Angeles Indian man, associated with the Indian Welcome House, was certain that many Indians were being trained for occupations lower than their aspirations:

I have found many of the Indians are brought to Los Angeles on a relocation program of the BIA. They are trained for welding and for auto mechanics. I bet I have talked to a thousand Indian welders in the City of Los Angeles. I don't think there are jobs for a fifth of that number, and yet we seem to keep training Indian welders. Why this is, I don't know.

I have talked to several who have aspirations of being an engineer. I have talked to girls who want to become nurses, and in their training they are trained to be nurse's aides, or to be in some trade. In their feelings, as expressed to me, they would like to know why they are undersold, why, in their training, they are sent to a city where they cannot be trained for something in the college field. There are many, many Indians who are capable of attaining the professions, capable of being lawyers. We have Indian lawyers here. We have Indian engineers, and I am sure that we are overlooking many more that could be trained in these fields.⁴⁸

One Indian man from Los Angeles expressed his concern for better guidance and counseling in this way:

I would like to point out, I think there should be more stress, or emphasis put on higher education. Indians are sent out for particular trades they are schooled in, which is all right. They should be encouraged to go on for a higher education.

There are many of them who become dropouts in school and in work. Not enough concern, in my estimation, is given to these dropouts. They are just left there. Somebody should take them under their wing, and talk to them, encourage them not to go back to the reservation but to try again, to get in there and try again.⁴⁹

A representative of Arizona State University Indian students, testifying in Phoenix, described the importance of counseling and guidance this way:

There are so many conflicts involved that we deal with each day. A lot of these have to do with counseling. We have problems that we deal with each day, classes and courses that we need to take, and courses that are required, and we need to go to someone for information just to have a nice talk with someone.

Coming from the reservation, or from another world, and into the college life is quite a big jump. To just sit down and talk to anyone about these problems is even a bigger task.

There is a thing called understanding that is really a problem with many of the students now. I have known the majority of the students in the organization, and many of them come to talk to me, or we just discuss problems amongst ourselves, but there is not really anyone on campus whom we consider as a counselor that we can talk to about things that bother us. Maybe they are just social problems. Maybe they are academic problems. Maybe they are financial problems. This is one of the biggest things, the financial problem.⁵⁰

Another Indian college student in Phoenix felt that high school, as well as college, counseling was deficient:

The first thing that I have on my list deals with counseling in the urban high schools. I am using the material as counseling for some of the teachers that I have met and Indian teachers who have gone on to college and who have told me about different situations that they have encountered by going to school with non-Indians and with Indians on the reservation and in schools near the reservation.

One of the chief problems...is communication. They can either be treated as an Indian, meaning that you are a little lower than somebody else, or be treated as a minority group, because you have dark skin or because

you happen to have such features you are treated special. This might be called Indian education or counseling of Indians, but to them it is sort of degrading.

I can just give experiences of my own life. My own counselor in high school treated me as if -- well, I had my program written up eighth grade for my whole four years, and so I was set. But I don't see why. What did I know in eighth grade, you know. I would pick courses that seemed good. And I liked art. I liked to draw, and different things like that. I never did think that I would go to college. I never did look in the future, and nobody told me that I could have gone to college or to a college outside of the state. So my goals were not very high. And my counselor did not help me much. He just signed a paper and said you take this number of courses a year, and the second year you take this many. The only time I saw him was once a year. If I had an academic problem, just myself, I would keep it to myself. And nobody ever attempted to tell me that there were tutoring services or maybe there was somebody who cared.

The next thing is my aspiration, which I thought would be in art. It seems to me like people think that all Indians, you know, can draw, so they thought I had a gift.

So all during my high school years I was prompted to go to art school. And my art teacher gave me straight A's. You know, I would draw a line and she would put an A on it. That was about the extent of it.⁵¹

...maybe it would be good to have Indian counselors, somebody who knows of the Indian programs, what college scholarships are, and other programs that they can go into. I was unaware of this when I was in high school. I did not know that I could be eligible for different programs or apply to different universities. All I knew was that I could go to Haskell, you know.⁵²

A mature Indian woman, appearing in Phoenix, gave this advice to Indian college students in need of counseling:

I find a lot of these college students that have entered schools, in fact any specialized field that they go into, if you have got conflicts there, this will always get in your way. Instead of going and trying to solve it yourself, go to somebody. Even a stranger will be able to help you. If you go to a person that knows you too well, knows your problems, they will try to consider the other person the

problem before they will think about your own. Go to a stranger. Go to a person, even if he is white, black, colored like us. It doesn't matter. Go to somebody that you feel has some kind of knowledge or understanding of sorts, preferably, I think, a person that has children. In this way, a complete stranger, not knowing about your family problems, may be in the best position to help you.

I don't say that I can't be wrong in that, because there are some people that specialize, these social workers and counselors. Now this is on a different basis. I am talking about just counseling, general counseling, trying to get rid of your burdens, because a complete stranger can't pass on what you say. He does not know your immediate family. Otherwise if he knows your immediate family, he might start a grapevine which will get back to your family. Then this would not help your problem at all.⁵³

A Phoenix man emphasized the need for competent Indian adults to serve as teachers, counselors and models:

We have all got children for sure. What is going to happen to them if we are so frustrated. None of us have any direction right now really and no high ideals. Why don't we have kids that really respect the tribal chairman? Why don't we have kids that really respect other Indian people and other Indian leaders? When are we going to develop that population that the young people really respect and really idolize as the kind of people they really want to be, because that is the primary frustration that our kids have got in school. They are not seeing Indian people teaching them. They are not getting their counseling and guidance from Indian people that they really respect....

I think there are not many of us who have looked at non-Indian people as idols or as examples of what we want to be, but we don't find enough Indian people that can provide the example and be the kind of person that young people want to identify with on the reservation.⁵⁴

Counseling needs, then, were perceived as broad and important. Quality, professional counseling was desired in the public schools, universities and through the BIA; counselors should be available for personal and financial as well as academic problems; they are needed because Indian parents often cannot provide the necessary advice or because the use of friends and

relatives as advisors could expose personal problems to the "grapevine"; counselors must be careful not to steer Indian students toward selected occupations simply because they are Indian; and it would be desirable if Indians could provide the counseling service, and, perhaps fill the dual role of an adult Indian model. It is clear that most witnesses did not feel that the present standards and availability of counseling were sufficient for the special Indian counseling task. When one considers the usual public school dependence on the family as a source of much guidance and counseling, the paucity of resources ordinarily reserved for public school counseling services, and the huge adaptation and intercultural problems posed by education for some Indian young people, the seriousness of the counseling problem is better understood.

The recommendations of the California Indian Education Association, referred to earlier, did not leave the matter entirely up to professional counselors, however. These recommendations urged that:

Parents must assume greater responsibility for the educational and emotional development of their children and not expect the school to succeed where the parents fail....Parents should assume the responsibility of counseling and guiding their children at home.⁵⁵

Inadequacy of Resources

Some of the persons who testified were concerned about the inadequacy of educational resources, especially economic resources. There was lengthy documentation of the inadequacies of Sherman Institute at Riverside, California (some 50 miles from Los Angeles), a BIA-sponsored educational and vocational training facility for Indians, and many of these inadequacies were directly related to lack of money for facilities, equipment, supplies and staff. Testimony indicated that Sherman Institute could not become an accredited high school in California until substantial improvements were made.⁵⁶ Similarly, the program of training provided to Indians in Los Angeles vocational and technical schools through the BIA was criticized for producing poorly-trained graduates without the necessary tools for

successful employment. It was noted that these tools were too expensive for most students.⁵⁷ The Los Angeles Indian Students' Bill of Rights referred to previously specified that "all students should receive the books and tools when promised, and they should be of satisfactory quality." It noted that BIA students should follow the same course schedules as those of the non-Indian students at the school, rather than having abbreviated course schedules. It recommended that the BIA should use public instead of private trade schools when possible in order to save funds for improved services. It emphasized that a greater effort should be made to find housing at reasonable rates for Indian students. It stipulated that students should be given travel allowances, that living allowances should be increased, that all students should be paid on time, that living stipends should be above the poverty level, that twice-monthly rather than once-monthly checks should be issued, and that payment should be made on the preceding Friday when the sixteenth or first of the month falls on a weekend. (It was said that, "According to the local BIA director Indians do not get paid on preceding Fridays because they will get drunk"⁵⁸)

The need for more college scholarships for Indians was noted in Los Angeles, where Committee member Roger Jourdain contrasted the California situation with Minnesota's Indian scholarship program, funded by the State since 1955.⁵⁹ The Director of the BIA Employment Assistance Office in Los Angeles pointed out that there was no way through the Bureau to subsidize the costs of higher education for those who have completed vocational training. However, he stated:

We have had a number of private schools offer free scholarships, and they have gone untaken because no one seemed to show enough interest to apply for them. These were totally free scholarships made available by some of the private schools.⁶⁰

The need for more federal funds for higher education scholarships for Indians was stressed in the Minneapolis hearings, also,⁶¹ and the same plea was voiced in Dallas.⁶² In the latter city, one witness was concerned with the apparent distribution of scholarship opportunities:

How come the Indian folks here in the Dallas-Fort Worth area have so much difficulty in obtaining education scholarships? If they lived at Anadarko or Apache or somewhere up in Oklahoma, this would not be the same situation. These people, of course, come to our home, we visit with them, and they tell us their problems. This is how we learn this information, and I think this is important.⁶³

Another Dallas witness asserted that continuing education for Indian adults would require additional funding because most Indians who would be interested have low income, and because there are no state supported schools in the Dallas area. The Dallas BIA representative confirmed this generally bleak financial picture, noting that there were some small, private donations earmarked for Indian people at a local school from which a portion of tuition could be paid.⁶⁴ A Labor Department official in Dallas pointed out that a special Texas law provided a waiver of all tuition and costs at certain state colleges for veterans who were Texas residents before their military service. This would include Indians, of course, although it was apparent that those eligible would be quite restricted because of the residency and veterans' status requirements.⁶⁵ An Indian lady in Phoenix described a small rotating fund for Indian college students established by the BIA Women's Club in Phoenix to be used by students to tide them over when delays in receiving their regular checks occurred.⁶⁶ In San Francisco, the Committee Chairman noted the availability of some Harvard scholarships in medicine and graduate study of education.⁶⁷ In Dallas, an official of Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, announced that her organization was prepared to make available to Indians who were interested much college scholarship information.⁶⁸

Increased federal funding for the public schools was urged by a non-Indian assistant superintendent in Los Angeles. He noted that federal funds, while helpful, had not been nearly adequate enough "to meet the special educational needs of several hundred thousand disadvantaged pupils now enrolled..." He also pointed out that "nearly 46 percent of our students come from minority group homes..."⁶⁹

In Minneapolis an Indian educator from the State Education Department announced plans to change the use of Johnson-O'Malley funds from general operation of schools suffering from lack of local revenue to special programs in these schools designed to aid Indian students. These funds were to be augmented, he said, by federal funds up to two million dollars. He noted that Johnson-O'Malley funds did not presently apply to the large cities, where growing numbers of Indian children need to be served. It was pointed out that state aid to schools was currently based upon average daily attendance (lower for Indian pupils) rather than average daily membership, and it was hoped that the state legislature would correct this provision which served to reduce funds for schools with high Indian enrollment.⁷⁰

The need for federal educational assistance (including vocational training) for all Indians, not just those from the reservation, was emphasized in San Francisco.⁷¹

Indian student needs for money were stressed in other ways. An Indian woman who provided room and board to Indian men receiving vocational training in Dallas said:

I try to keep my board and room cut down to where the boys can make it on what they get. I guess the government thinks money belongs to them, but I got news for them: it don't belong to them, it belongs to the Indians in the first place. One thing, these students need more money to go to school. They don't have enough money to buy their clothes or for necessities. That's one thing these boys need, more money to go to school. These people in the BIA are drawing a salary, and that money doesn't belong to them. Let the boys have some to go to school on, don't make them an underdog. I'm tired of seeing the Indians being made an underdog.⁷²

Free school lunches for Indian children were urged repeatedly. Apparently, such a program existed in Dallas, but some low-income Indian families in that city were not using it.⁷³ One Indian mother felt that a supervised school hot lunch program was important:

...I'd like to see free school lunches, because there are a lot of families that have more than two or three children in school. I know I just have four, but it costs me \$10.50 a week and well, where I lived, we didn't have any transportation for them to get to school. When I was working, I had to pay somebody to take them to and from school. My main concern was to see they had, you know, a school hot lunch program at the school and have somebody there to supervise their lunches.

Later, she explained that, while there was a hot lunch program in her children's school, it was not supervised:

They are not supervised. The kids buy what they want. Like I said, I have one son that will buy all sweets if he can...⁷⁵

In Phoenix, an Indian woman said the food served in an Indian school there was inadequate:

The only drawback in the sports activities in the Indian school is the food. They send our football team out on, maybe, potatoes and beans. How can they compete on a diet like that -- with just beans and potatoes in their stomachs. I could not do it. I belonged to a girls' team. Half the time I had to sit there taking medicine, trying to get over cramps and such.⁷⁶

A Dallas Indian mother noted that special costs associated with schooling are often difficult for parents to meet:

The education for our children, like I have a senior now, and I know there are other parents that have run into this. In certain classes, they have projects, they have to buy these projects. I've had only one project my son has had that was less than \$8.00, that was \$7.95, I believe it was. These projects are required, and they have to buy them, and we have to stretch our budgets to buy these things. Now being as it's under education, there should be some way that parents could be helped.⁷⁷

Inadequate clothing was mentioned as a hindrance to a successful school experience by witnesses in Minneapolis⁷⁸ At least one Indian education program in Minneapolis, Indian Upward Bound, provided a special clothing allowance for its junior high school students.⁷⁹

An Indian school social worker in Minneapolis identified another potential economic barrier to a successful educational experience:

All the students are required to take health examinations before school starts in the fall, but some parents bring them in and some do not. Many times, for some of the people, an evaluation or a physical examination is hard for them to get because of the expense.⁸⁰

The Indian student's need for income was apparent in the hearings. The recommendations of the California Indian Education Association urged that "Work study programs should be available as an alternative to dropping out of school completely and every effort should be made to keep 'dropouts' in school."⁸¹ A Dallas Indian man recommended:

Provide CC-type, on-job training for both adults and youths. A youth conservation corps may help to solve the problems of juvenile delinquency, especially in the cities. It would give young people jobs to keep them occupied, spending money and supervision and skills that would be useful on their home reservations or elsewhere.⁸²

A non-Indian Department of Labor Employment Development Specialist recommended the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program as a means to encourage Indian youth through meaningful employment. Although he noted that the Dallas Independent School District had not yet participated in the Program (it was being sponsored by the Community Action Program in Dallas) he was hopeful that a new school administration would be able to incorporate the Program:

Quite an improvement has come about in the number of school systems in their physical facilities because of the work these youngsters have put in. They work as maintenance aides, some of them work in the cafeterias, grading papers, assisting teachers, working with the younger children and, in many cases, these have been quite meaningful jobs. In the summer program, we made an attempt to get as much placement in business offices, county offices or city offices, where their work experience would be related to real jobs.⁸³

A Minneapolis Indian man credited the NYC and the public schools' Work Opportunity Center with salvaging many Indian dropouts.⁸⁴ In San Francisco, difficulties with providing summer jobs for Indian youth were cited as a major problem, and there was a hint that summer job programs were excluding most Indians.⁸⁵

In Phoenix, it was noted that no NYC jobs were available directly to the 950 students at the Indian School, and that these jobs had to be assigned through the tribe. The result, according to one witness, was that

We find a lot of the kids are not given an opportunity on the NYC, because there are not enough jobs even for each tribal area. So the kids at the school are reduced to being cheap domestic help and gardeners for the whole City of Phoenix. I believe it is discouraging to the students to think that all they can do is domestic work and yard work.⁸⁶

In the case of adults, it was noted that BIA educational programs were geared to serve only those applicants applying at the agency or reservation levels, and that regular Indian residents in the cities were not eligible for adult education or retraining.⁸⁷

It is clear that numerous Indian witnesses felt that major impediments to successful Indian education were the insufficiency of public funds and the poverty circumstances of many Indian families.

Teachers of Indian Children

Teachers of Indian children were seen as problems by some who appeared at these hearings. A spokesman for the California Indian Education Association asserted that many teachers are unprepared to teach Indian children effectively, that curriculum and teaching methods should be more effective, and that imposition of the "middle class system" upon Indian children makes them feel that they are wrong and that they are psychologically inferior. The spokesman argued that, when Indian children get behind and are assigned homework by their teachers, damage is caused if the parents, because of

their own lack of education, are unable to help them. "Sometimes the youngsters resent their parents for their inability to help," he stated. He suggested that teachers should understand and know the background of their Indian students, that teachers should be aware of educational needs and community problems, that teachers should be more personal in their relations with students, and that teachers should learn to remove all negativeness in dealing with Indian children. He stressed the importance of developing alternatives in teaching techniques and processes, so that Indian children could be taught in terms of alternatives and choices. Finally, he felt that universities and colleges should sponsor special teacher training courses to deal with minority children.⁸⁸

Also during the Los Angeles hearings, it was suggested that:

Teachers should become familiar with at least commonly used words and phrases from the local Indian language as one means for showing respect for the native culture.

Teachers should be trained to utilize Indian aides and resource people in the classroom and should be helped to overcome any fear of having non-teacher adults in the classroom.⁸⁹

A Minneapolis Indian educator also urged better teacher preparation in colleges and universities, orientation sessions for new teachers in schools which serve Indian communities, and statewide seminars for teachers, counselors, librarians, and administrators.⁹⁰

University and college-sponsored teacher-training courses in the education of minority children were urged in Los Angeles, also.⁹¹

Other Minneapolis witnesses mentioned such teacher-related problems as misunderstanding by teachers, culture conflict, teacher attitudes and curriculum change.⁹²

One Minneapolis Indian education professional quoted the notion of Bryde that "the system of rewards and punishments in the Indian culture" should be used by teachers. She also referred to teaching technique experimentation on the Red Lake Indian Reservation in Minnesota, where "Indian values" were part of the design, including the "value" of avoiding undue attention. "The literature shows that most Indian children do not respond to verbal reinforcement because it draws attention to the self, it puts self above the group, and, as a final result, the child withdraws."⁹³ Chairman Harris wondered, "...why would an Indian student not want to draw attention to himself? Self is a very important thing. But why? Do you consider this an Indian value or is their self-esteem not strong enough?" The Indian education professional responded:

I would consider this partly my opinion, and partly what I found in the literature. This goes back to the old historic Indian value of not putting yourself above the group for various economic, social and political reasons. When the tribe still existed, and as most anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists admit, these values, although they don't remain in their pure form, still we are in a state of transition. We still have vestiges of these values. This is what we are seeing, in the areas where the Indian students are having problems. They are taught at home to act one way and this is the right way. They go to school, and the middle class society acts in an entirely different way. There is bound to be a conflict.⁹⁴

Chairman Harris wondered if efforts were being made to "bring about verbal skills that wouldn't be harmful or wouldn't have a negative impact on a child?" The response was:

I think so. I couldn't possibly give you one right now. This is the problem we have, when we are talking to teachers about values. They say right away, "All right. If you don't like our values, what do you have to suggest" then right away we are supposed to quickly suggest a bunch of techniques that have taken many years to come up with. We are still in the stage of just discovering if this makes any difference...I think we have to start where the student is. If the student is over here with Indian values, this is where we have to start motivating him.⁹⁵

Another exchange between a Minneapolis Indian witness, who described educational failure at a northern Minnesota public school, and Chairman Harris, indicated the significance attached by some to the teacher's role. The witness noted that "...the teachers are, in a sense, part of the responsibility or part of the failure of the child individually." Chairman Harris responded:

It reminds me of an example my husband gives, the testimony of a sociologist who said that teachers were told two groups of children were tested, and that one group had received a very high rating and that the other group was rated very low when in fact, neither group had been tested. When the students went in, the ones that the teachers thought had high ratings received more attention and their grades went up constantly, whereas this other group's -- actually they were all on the same level -- grades went down. It's an observation. I think it's a very critical one that educators as a whole should look at.⁹⁶

A San Francisco Indian representative related his proposal for an Upward Bound Program, which he felt would have the advantage of providing Indian students with Indian teachers.⁹⁷ A Minneapolis Indian carried it one step further:

Maybe we could have a school for the Indians, and they would learn something.⁹⁸

But in Dallas, where little militancy was evident, an Indian man testified in response to a query about the high Indian drop-out rate:

...when they began to integrate the schools from Carter up in Ardmore, for example, I was quite interested in this program. Here was a school, it was a resident school, and they began to move these kids into the city schools of Ardmore. They found there in the first efforts in this direction, that the earlier that these kids got together, the less problems they had. I would think that probably this situation is the same throughout. If a child has been in an Indian school up to the sixth, seventh or eighth grades, he may have problems getting into another type of school. If he can do this at an early age, then these problems decrease. I don't think the dropouts particularly are any more -- after all, we're all human

beings and I think if the same situations that apply to the Indian kids, you'll also find the same situations among other students.⁹⁹

And a Los Angeles witness urged:

I would like to see a study made of our Indian teachers in the service of teaching Indian children. We need to compare their treatment to blacks and whites. It is very important because we have our own people dedicated to teaching Indians. I know of a couple of instances that are not too nice.¹⁰⁰

Another Indian person who testified indicated that such features as Indian teachers and all-Indian schools may be appropriate for Indian children who are without parents (or, by implication, without identity anchor-points), but that other Indian children would be better off in an integrated school setting.¹⁰¹

In Los Angeles, a school official acknowledged that effective staff development was necessary to equip teachers to deal with children from different ethnic backgrounds. He noted that the public schools in Los Angeles annually recruit between four and five thousand new teachers and that this necessitates regular staff training.¹⁰² Chairman Harris noted, "...in most of our teaching methods, the reward system is for aggressive, vocal students. We have found through our experience in other programs, this doesn't work unless you teach them the skills to be aggressive. When they have non-aggressive cultural traits, it is very difficult....They are not rewarded but rather looked down on. This lowers their self-image and adds to the child's problems. It actually adds to the emotional problem rather than helping."¹⁰³ In response to this, the school official said:

We, too, have found that and are doing what we can. You might be interested to know, also, that the Los Angeles City Schools are at the present time undergoing a complete reorganization which will tend to divide the district into smaller areas. This will bring the individual needs closer to those who are attempting to beat the problem.

When I say that, don't expect it to be accomplished next week. You can imagine what growing pains and anxieties will take place while this is in process.¹⁰⁴

At the collegiate level, a young Indian militant woman described the development of new Indian classes at the University of California at Santa Barbara, and then said:

Now we are facing quite a problem because in the first class, the person who is going to have to teach is a white person. He is taking information out of textbooks not written by Indians.

The second class is faced with another problem. However, we are in a better situation in a better situation in the contemporary affairs class because we are going to be using solely the Indian publications. It will be a matter of studying what is happening to California Indians.¹⁰⁵

One suggestion for remedying perceived teacher problems in the education of Indian children emerged in Los Angeles:

The last aspect...is a teaching program, a teaching corps. We have envisioned it as a team, a three-man team that would work with specific Indian areas and specific Indian students. In other words, what has happened in California, is that although California Indian students are supposed to be attending public schools, somehow the educational policy or process is breaking down. These people have the highest dropout rate. So what has to happen is the personalization of the educational process.

The Ad Hoc Committee speaks of a resource person that should be incorporated to work with the university. This person would probably be an older member of the Indian community who does have most of the culture, remembers most of the language, or can easily work with the Indian culture and history and the Indian families and the Indian parents.

A second person on this team would be a young member of the Indian community who would work at the university for two-thirds of the training year, working with the teacher, the third member of the group.

The teacher will probably be non-Indian. It would be a lot better if it were Indian. However, the main aspect of this would be the teacher. The teacher would be employed in the educational school districts they would be going back to. We are talking mainly about teaching in rural reservation areas. However, I don't think this would be inapplicable to an urban situation.

We have seen this team working a year, two-thirds at the university, on just the education courses -- just how do you teach; and the last one-third of the year would be spent completely in the field, so to speak, on the reservation, with the people, learning about the children he is going to be teaching. Learning what their problems are, in order to teach and respond to the individual problems.¹⁰⁶

Again in Los Angeles, an Indian man urged the utilization of Indians who can teach "Indian lore":

...if we are to learn Indian lore and expect our children to know their heritage, we have got to get some teachers who know this field. I have long been one of these teachers as an avocation, and I find I didn't learn it in the last ten years but it took me almost 30 years. I am still learning.

...it is a good thing to teach Indian lore to our children, and I just hope we find the teachers to do it.

The thing I deplore most in this field of Indian lore, is that it is being taught today, 95 percent by non-Indian writers, non-Indian students. The 5 percent of Indians who are eligible, just like myself, never seem to get to teach it. Indian lore today has been masked by many things which we even think we are doing correctly. For instance, I attend all of the Indian dance powwows. We get together and enjoy it, I as a spectator, but nonetheless when we group together some 30 tribes or more, all persons who used to know their dances, and we put them to the beat of the drum, the Sioux drum. My people's drum, they are quickly losing the authentic steps and the beat of their own rhythms. I think a lot has got to be put into this field of thought in Indian lore if we are going to save any of it authentically even for our own people.¹⁰⁷

In Dallas, an Indian woman described her activities in teaching Indian culture:

Quite often in the elementary schools of Dallas, Fort Worth, Richardson, and Garland -- all of the surrounding areas, they bring the entire elementary school into the auditorium and I give them a 30-minute lecture on Indian culture. All these children are vitally interested in socializing with Indian children, yet there is no place where this activity can be pursued. They're interested for their own benefit, in knowing about Indian culture. This is a great heritage of America, not just the Indians.¹⁰⁸

Indian Involvement

Some who appeared before the Committee emphasized the importance of Indian involvement, control, participation and self-determination in the educational process. A representative of the California Indian Education Association, appearing in Los Angeles, asserted that, "The local Indian community must better organize itself so as to provide services to youth not now available and so as to be in a position to help the schools improve their educational programs."¹⁰⁹ Specifically, he recommended:

- A. Indian-centered clubs should be encouraged, along with museums, arts and crafts workshops, recreation programs, and Head Start classes where these do not now exist.
- B. Indian self-help or benevolent societies might be organized to provide financial assistance to pupils and families in times of emergency.
- C. Indian people should have greater contact with teachers, administrators, and school board members by means of formal and informal meetings arranged by the Indian community.
- D. To achieve the latter a local education organization may be necessary, and
- E. The Indian community should develop resource people for use in schools and should put on lectures about Indian subjects for the benefit of Indians and non-Indians.¹¹⁰

The California Indian Education Association itself appears to be a developing model of Indian self-determination in the field of education.

It was described by another of its representatives in these terms:

...in California we have a movement going with the California Indian Education Association, and this program is something that is a positive program that Indian people have gotten together for themselves, for once, and are doing something for themselves.

It's completely organized and structured by Indian people, no State financing or Federal financing. It's by individuals that are working in their spare time. This is a statewide organization, and we're being received quite well by the establishment throughout the state.

We're working, and our main goal is the betterment of Indian people, but working through education. This is where we think that the problem lies, plus the fact that the Indian people are going to have to start doing some of these things themselves, and this is where I'm really proud today to say that I am a member of the Board of Directors of the California Indian Education Association.¹¹¹

In reviewing problems with the teachers of Indian children, we have already noted that some witnesses urged direct involvement of Indians in the educational process through acquiring more Indian teachers, more Indian folklore specialists and more Indian teacher aides for the classroom.

Students from the University of California at Santa Barbara wanted the Santa Barbara Campus:

Not only [to] be a center to restore the culture of the California Indian, but to consolidate the resources, to provide the culture, put it in writing, so that textbooks can be written, but also to be somewhat of a social service agency. In other words, the University's role in this aspect would merely be to provide services, the educational, the academic, and the professional resources. This whole center should be run by Indians or not at all. Therefore, if the Indians are running it, we feel they would be able to determine their own destiny.¹¹²

The issue of self-determination prompted a response to these California Indian college students from William Carmack, NCIO staff member:

The concept of self-determination is much discussed today and has been an official government policy by expression both of the Senate and Presidential Executive Order for nearly a year.

Now, as we talk about self-determination - we have got to remember that it entails on the part of the Indian people the option not to be self-determining. As we talk about the development of Indian culture and our appreciation of how important it is, we have to remember that the concept of self-determination entails their option not to develop their culture. As we talk about developing at Santa Barbara a program to perpetuate Indian culture and heighten Indian values, we have got to ask ourselves the question "at what point do the Indian people become involved?"

Our classic mistake in Indian affairs has been to attempt to have an overall Indian policy. I had the opportunity to work in the Bureau of Indian Affairs as the Assistant Commissioner for Community Service. So the basic thing, it seems to me, in your statement is that Indian people in your view, not only must actuate their plans but must establish their priority.

Some of the things you say don't ring exactly right to me... I don't know where I would find the average Indian or reservation. That would be like saying the average American or European ancestry. There is nothing that a Navajo would see as average if he visited a Crow reservation, maybe...

...I am hoping not to sound argumentative, but simply to say that the process of self-determination has to begin at the establishment of priorities and what to do. Indians will opt for different things given their different circumstances and backgrounds.¹¹³

California's Sherman Institute, it was said, was not being run by Indians, and it was implied that there were not many Indian aides in the Los Angeles school system.¹¹⁴

An Indian education goal mentioned by several persons was that of educating non-Indians about Indians, and it was clear that some believed that Indian control was necessary here.¹¹⁵ At the level of higher education, this was sometimes phrased in terms of equipping non-Indians being professionally trained (e.g., in law, medicine, social work, etc.) with knowledge about Indians through an Indian studies department thus helping them to deal with their future Indian clients. Also, Indians were encouraged to write textbooks and books for teacher training.¹¹⁶ The origins of one such book were described as follows:

We have here a little book, and it's the Indians telling it like it is. We deliberately kept every white man away, and, boy, was it a job, because they found out we were going to have an Indian group, and we had all kinds of legislative people trying to put the pressure on us so they could get their hands on this thing so they could say it was theirs, but they couldn't do it, because a group of people had enough guts to say, "If we're going to do anything, we're going to have to do it ourselves."¹¹⁷

Increased utilization of Indian publications in schools was urged, partly because non-Indian publications seldom deal with Indians.¹¹⁸

But some proposals for Indian education, while having strong overtones of Indian control and direction, seemed to be aimed primarily toward Indians themselves. A proposed American Native Studies Program at San Francisco State College would be, according to the young Indian man who represented it before the Committee, "geared toward letting the American Indian become aware of what he has to offer. That, and bring out the creativeness that each one of us has. We don't want to be whitewashed, to become, you know, puppets and utter the words of somebody else."¹¹⁹ Another San Francisco witness felt that ethnic studies were necessary for Indian children during the pre-school and elementary years.¹²⁰

Another suggested means of exercising Indian influence and control was the review and selection of textbooks and teaching materials.¹²¹ In Los Angeles a representative of the California Indian Education Association

noted that "Indian people are not pleased with most of the textbooks utilized in the schools." He recommended:

- A. That textbooks used in California be changed so as to deal accurately with the history and culture of California Indians.
- B. That new supplementary materials dealing specifically with California Indian history and culture be prepared.
- C. That all texts include pictures of children of different racial backgrounds, including Indians.
- D. That the "mass media" television, movies and so forth, deal accurately and adequately with minority groups.

For example: in documentary materials, Indian actors should be utilized for Indian roles and the use of stereotypes should be discarded.¹²²

A representative of the Los Angeles Public Schools reported to the Committee that a special, federally-funded publications project would seek to develop "a positive image of the Indian which I think is long overdue." He further indicated that "no book will be purchased for our schools if it has in any way an image of any of our minorities that is anything but positive.¹²³ The potential economic pressure upon textbook publishers which could be exerted by a large system such as that in Los Angeles is apparent.

Similarly, the NCIO was asked to examine textbooks in BIA boarding schools, and one witness offered the opinion that:

It seems to me almost tantamount to a violation of the Civil Rights Act for the Federal Government to use federal funds to purchase books which portray Indians in a light which is not faithful to the history of the United States.¹²⁴

But Committee member Hensley, commenting upon the textbook and teaching material situation in Los Angeles, said:

You have a substantially greater problem than we might have in Alaska, where within the Bureau and state schools scattered around the state, the villages are composed mainly of either Eskimos or Indians, where perhaps the problem of getting the material to them wouldn't be so bad, but at this point we are having problems of getting materials which are applicable to the people.

There were efforts to remedy the problem of shortages of Indian materials. In Minneapolis, an Indian consultant described a proposed project to train school librarians from the heaviest Indian populated schools in Minnesota and to equip them with bibliographies, films and filmstrips. He explained:

We are also going to train them to go back and implement the material they used in this course, to gain better relationships with the community, the teachers, and the Indians. To give everyone a better knowledge of the Indian and not the stereotype set up by the movies, or TV, or history. To prove to the teachers, librarians, and other people, that history books were written to justify the conscience of the white man, to show the rest of the world what he had to do to a people.¹²⁶

One Indian educator appearing in Minneapolis added:

We feel it's just as important for school systems, in areas where they have no minorities, to teach positive things about minorities.¹²⁷

And a representative of the Indian Advisory Committee to the Minneapolis Public Schools made it clear that the group considered one of its central responsibilities to be the review of textbooks and removal of those it found to be offensive. He noted that a similar organization in Duluth was performing the same function.¹²⁸ An Assistant Superintendent in Minneapolis commented that, upon learning of the displeasure of an Indian group with a specific textbook, 'We withdrew it in a week...It took about a week to get them out of circulation.'¹²⁹ But Chairman Harris wanted to know, "Does each individual school determine what books will be used in that particular school? I didn't quite understand how that worked." The school representative replied that textbook selection is made every five years by a group of teachers, and that he felt they needed "outside consultation" to help them in their task.¹³⁰

A UCLA law professor, referring to BIA educational activity, felt that "the Indian community itself should have a much greater role in the selection of schools and of the programs themselves." He suggested closer

monitoring of the effectiveness of training provided by Bureau-contracted private vocational schools in Los Angeles. He also referred to:

...the whole community action concept in its relationship to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It seems to me that this is one of the few places, at least as far as the urban Indian community, where the community action principle has not taken hold -- in the relationship with the Bureau.

The Bureau doesn't feel there is a board of directors, so to speak, of Indians from the community to whom it is responsible, that sets guidelines and intervenes, and says, "This would be a better way of conducting your affairs than the present one."

I think that the Bureau could learn a great deal more from the Indian community than it does at present. The National Council might look at institutional ways of requiring a local office, like the office in Los Angeles, to be more responsible to the community by setting up some community organization to regulate what it does.¹³¹

A "Proposed Program for the University of California in Indian Education," which was introduced by Indian college students in Los Angeles, recommended that "...the Regents of the University of California appoint an advisory council composed of Indian leaders..., student members of the UCSB Indian Project...and various University administrators or advisors."¹³² In San Francisco, an all-Indian Upward Bound program was proposed to be housed at the University of San Francisco -- despite the objections of some Indians that the University was too white, too middle-class, and had too many "far out" young people.¹³³ The University was selected (although the proposal was not funded) because it:

...was close to the American Indian Center. During the winter time the program would operate at the American Indian Center, and they did agree that the program would be controlled by the American Indian Council, which is something we definitely wanted.¹³⁴

Several operating Indian education programs in Minneapolis were revealed to have substantial amounts of Indian participation and control. Indian Upward Bound - a federally-funded program focussed upon seventh and eighth grade Indian students from two Minneapolis junior high schools - was described by its Director as having:

...[a] high degree of self-determination. What do I mean by that? I mean that we have a board which is presently composed of 24 members, all Indian. This board is not just an advisory body; but the governing body of the program. They make the big decisions and formulate the major policies by which the program is run. The staff has a nucleus of five, three professional and two clerical, all Indian. This is a program, more or less for Indians, run by Indians.¹³⁵

Another Indian education program in Minneapolis is Project STAIRS which, like Indian Upward Bound, is linked to the public schools as well as the University of Minnesota. The Director of this enrichment and tutorial program for elementary school Indian children noted:

The policy-making STAIRS board is made up of Indian parents whose children are in the program. Presently we have 13 on the board and an advisory board of 20 people. Total parent involvement is the aim of the program, not only representation on the board, but in the schools, PTA, etc. Indian parents are in control of STAIRS.¹³⁶

Later, the STAIRS Director was asked by a NCIO staff member about the extent of parental participation and support. He responded:

At the beginning of the program the interest was good. I have only been involved in the program for three weeks and we haven't had too much parent participation in any of the community meetings. We have regular conferences and opportunities for parents, volunteers, and members of our STAIRS program to get together if there are any problems...We discuss these problems and accept their suggestions and recommendations for improvements. We have had criticism from other agencies and other groups. They fail to realize we are not in this program for our own benefit but for the education of their children. These parents are not putting money into the program. It's

being handed to us, and I think that we should utilize these opportunities to enhance and further the education of these children who have problems with their school work.¹³⁷

Proposed projects to assist Indian drop-outs and to provide for Indian adult basic education were described by a representative of the Minneapolis Public Schools as well as the Indian Library Project mentioned earlier.¹³⁸ A state-wide Indian education committee, patterned after the California model but funded through the state education department, was in its formative stages in Minnesota and considerable hope for its success was voiced by state Indian education representatives and staff of the Minneapolis school system.¹³⁹ Both sources stressed the necessity of involvement of Indians in decisions. Indeed, the Indian representative from the state education department voiced his hopes for the Minneapolis schools' advisory council:

It would be our hope that we could have people on the school board in Minneapolis, that it would not become only an advisory council, but would have some Indian staff to actually plan and implement programs as it relates to the Indian communities on the North Side and the South Side.¹⁴⁰

In summary, there were many voices raised in support of the notions of Indian involvement, control, participation and self-determination in the educational process. Indian organizations to support and pressure for better Indian education were encouraged; the use of Indian teachers and resource people in the schools was advocated; more contact between school personnel and Indians was recommended; Indian organizations to serve as grantees for funds to operate educational action programs were in evidence and in demand; the need for Indians to educate non-Indians was stressed; the importance of Indian-authored textbooks and publications for the classroom and for teacher training was pointed out; Indian studies programs for the purposes of strengthening the identity of Indian people at all age levels were sought; influence, and even control, over the use of textbooks in BIA and public schools was desired; more material and more positive

material about Indians for use in the schools was sought; and formalization of Indian influence and control through organizations ranging from local advisory councils to independent statewide committees to school board membership was viewed as desirable.

The Language Problem

Indian education literature often stresses the importance of the bilingual problem.¹⁴¹ While many of those who appeared before the Committee commented about the "communications" problem for Indian Americans, it was apparent that they were referring primarily to intercultural difficulties, not simply the language barrier. Few witnesses remarked specifically about language. Considering the common observation that a very small proportion of Minnesota Indians fluently speak their native language, it is surprising that the Indian representative of the State Education Department stressed bi-lingual education:

What we mean by services are areas where we find Indian youngsters have difficulty. One is reading. We feel these schools should have adequate reading specialists, a meaningful reading program. It may even be bi-lingual. It doesn't necessarily have to be only English. This would be a major breakthrough if we could accomplish this in Minnesota.

We know the Indian youngster has these difficulties. We also know he has some talents and we are not capitalizing on them. Hopefully by the use of specialists, we can correct the problems and take advantage of some of the capabilities that he does possess. This program will heavily concentrate on special services.¹⁴²

Chairman Harris was curious about reading problems:

I would like to get a reaction from you. You said that reading was one of the big problems. Is it the fact that the child has to read aloud, orally, or is it just reading in itself that is a problem?¹⁴³

Her inquiry produced a response from the State Indian Education Representative which suggested that attendance, not bilingual difficulty, was the real problem:

I am not sure I could answer that question correctly. We do find that the reading programs, as they are taught now, are based on continuous drills. When a youngster misses school and gets behind in these programs in elementary school, it's very difficult for him to catch up. Our schools haven't been flexible enough to reach every youngster at a level. They try to go to the middle, and then go from there. In many of the schools we are talking about, they do not have reading specialists or developmental reading programs. In some of your larger systems they have this, and the reading problems aren't quite as severe.¹⁴⁴

In Dallas, a non-Indian employer, speaking about his Indian employees, noted:

There is a certain communications barrier here, you know. I've got boys that can hardly speak any English, they're Navajo boys. There's a communications problem also.¹⁴⁵

In Phoenix, an Indian college student remarked:

As for other fields of Indian education, I cannot really expound too much on it, because I have never been to a boarding school or a mission school. But the results that come from the students that I have met, I don't know if they're after educating them. If they're really educating them, I don't see why they need a special English class at Arizona State for Indian students. It is true that they are having trouble with English, and it is very difficult. But to set them aside as something different, well, I saw some labelled deviates.¹⁴⁶

While the latter two extracts suggest that bilingual problems continue to be very real for Indian Americans, they also suggest that it may be quite difficult for formal schooling institutions to deal with language problems apart from the totality of "communications", or the process of intercultural transaction.

The Response of the Schools

In two of the cities visited, Los Angeles and Minneapolis, school board representatives attended the hearings. In Dallas, a representative of the Department of Labor spoke about plans for vocational education in the Dallas public schools. The comments of these persons give some indication about the response of large urban school systems to the Indian education problem.

The Los Angeles representative reported a total school district enrollment of 800,000 young people, of whom some 70,000 were said to reside in disadvantaged areas. Although Los Angeles is regarded as having the largest concentration of urban Indians in the United States, school officials there did not know the exact number of Indian children attending school because of the unreliability of ethnic surveys conducted on a visual basis. They estimated that nearly 46% of Los Angeles students came from minority group homes. The total educational task in Los Angeles, according to school officials, was being hampered by serious financial difficulties. Federal funds were helpful, but not sufficient. A steady increase in the number of Indian pupils attending the Los Angeles City Schools was anticipated. While school officials pledged to make "every effort to provide for these children the most appropriate kind of education," it appeared that concentrated Indian education efforts were not likely.¹⁴⁷

As one school official put it:

We are hoping that with additional funding, regardless of the categorical nature, whether it is for children from low income families; whether it is for the bilingual youngster who is identified as in need of training in English as a second language; or for whatever it is, we can direct it into areas and connect it with specific programs that will benefit the American Indian child along with others who have similar needs.

As I have indicated.... we have not developed a program in this large district that is specifically for the American Indian. We find that with the laws as they are we cannot really identify youngsters in our school district as being Indian, Negro, Mexican-American, or Oriental. We must

depend upon a visual survey. You would be interested to know that our visual survey indicates that there are less than 1,000 American Indians in our school district. We are all well aware that there is a larger number than this, but how do you visually identify an Indian child? This is one of our problems. We are not aware at the present time of any one school out of the 600 schools we have in our district, having a heavy impact of children coming from Indian families. However, I feel that with the help of our Federal Government and other surveys, perhaps we will have this brought out loud, and clear. As a result it will help us to direct programs that will be more specifically of value to the particular children.¹⁴⁸

[Emphasis added]

It was pointed out that programs to deal with special educational problems could be implemented through federal funding, but that it was very difficult to establish these special programs as part of the regularly funded school program.¹⁴⁹

An important question was raised by committee member Hensley:

You are involved with a mass educational program...My question is essentially, do you have any ideas as to how the needs or at least the needs from the educational standpoint of the American Indians can be made part of such a massive educational apparatus that you have in California?¹⁵⁰

The school official replied:

I think that this is the specific problem that I tried to indicate I was aware of. I don't see at the present time - and maybe those of you who have other ideas can help me to see it more clearly - I don't see how we can zero in on specific Indian type needs that are different from the needs of any child who has a reading need or any child who has a need for English as a second language or any child who needs a more positive image of himself.

I think by the sheer numbers and the sheer lack of percentage numbers that are strictly Indian identifications, that we must go into compensatory type education, where we meet the needs of the children regardless of their ethnic background.

The one exception is the image of the American Indian, which is in our literature, which I feel very strong about. I think we can put on real economic pressure. I think by the fact I am making this statement shows we are in tune with this need.¹⁵¹

In Minneapolis an assistant superintendent for the Minneapolis Public Schools acknowledged past failure in the education of Indian children and spoke of new Indian education programs as well as flexible approaches to the problem. He spoke of developing cooperative relationships with Indian education advisory committees at the school district and state levels, and he reported initial success with federally-funded, Indian-controlled special education programs in Minneapolis which were referred to earlier in this report. He noted:

...There was a meeting yesterday asking for high school credit to be given for courses taught at the Teen Center. We are actively exploring this kind of thing, assuming that the quality of the material presented is what the Indian people themselves feel is significant, and worthy of high school credit.

We are willing to take the high school program, junior high school included, to a work site. We are actively exploring this at the request of some of our teen centers. We have had a request for a small group of faculty, not pinned down to a building, but who can move to the centers where the Indian children are comfortable. They can teach there, with ready access to the building, and can move back and forth without being locked out of one. They would be taught where they are most comfortable and able to learn.¹⁵²

The school representative was optimistic about special Indian education programs, plans for new buildings, and the potential contributions of Indian leaders, but he noted:

I think, at this point, individual Indian children in our schools probably see little or no change compared to last year. Hopefully, within another year, the individual children will be able to feel a change and be affected more directly through the new programs.¹⁵³

Three days of sensitivity training for teachers and staff during the summer were planned by Minneapolis school officials.

In Dallas, school officials did not appear before the Committee, but a Department of Labor representative testified:

The present [school] administration is more vocationally-oriented. In fact they have under construction a real fine vocational and technical high school that will be one of the best in the nation...It's to be constructed in East Dallas...The school, as I understand it, is being established on the basis that it is for those who are interested in learning a trade. They go directly from high school into one of the trades, and it's not necessarily a school for those who simply do not have the ability to learn in the college preparatory courses. It's under construction.¹⁵⁴

Upon inquiry from the committee, it developed that eligibility for the new school would depend upon test scores and interests and that those under twenty-one would be eligible for the new school without payment of tuition. Dropouts were to be eligible to re-enter at any time until they became twenty-one years old, tuition evening courses for citizens were planned, and it was intended that the building would be utilized twenty-four hours a day, if necessary.¹⁵⁵

Thus, school representatives attended Committee hearings in only two of the five cities visited; in one city (Minneapolis) there was evidence of much activity in Indian education with considerable Indian involvement, but results were as yet uncertain; in another city (Los Angeles) there were expressions of good intentions but indications were that fiscal problems and the sheer difficulty of the minority education task would make it extremely difficult to do anything which could be appropriately labelled "Indian education"; in a third city (Dallas) no school official appeared, but another witness indicated that the school district was undertaking a vocational education emphasis.

Some Final Observations

Occasional reference has been made here to the education and training portions of the BIA Employment Assistance ("relocation") and adult vocational training programs. Since there were many Indian witnesses who commented about the various aspects of these programs, a separate report will deal with their views.

Detailed action recommendations for Indian education were submitted to the Committee by a representative of the California Indian Education Association in Los Angeles. Because they seem to represent the most carefully-considered and comprehensive recommendations advanced by any Indian group during the hearings, they are reproduced in their entirety in the Appendix.

Some observations may be drawn from the material presented in this report:

- 1) Many Indian witnesses indicated that they valued education for a variety of reasons. The economic overtones in much of the expressed desire for education were not always explicit, although general goals such as "strengthening the economic position" and "overcoming poverty" were cited. It was not very clear from the comments of most witnesses just how education could lead to economic improvement of urban Indians, except by their individual attachment to a fundamentally non-Indian labor force and that, presumably, in a way that would result in the differential compensation of Indian people according to such factors as their education, skills, experience, and place of employment. There was little indication that education was perceived by the Indians who testified as a way for Indian youth to achieve an economically rewarding life that would be separately and distinctly Indian; on the other hand, the obvious desire of some witnesses to achieve federally funded urban Indian education programs which would be controlled and staffed by Indians would provide, to the extent realized, immediate economic rewards to Indian adults. Perhaps such a focus on the immediate adult economic problem is responsible for the relative lack of specifics

about what it is that Indian children should learn to be or to do. Preparation in Indian languages, history and culture; efforts to create a "positive image" of Indians; the training of teachers to be "sensitive" and knowledgeable about Indians, and other such institutional efforts may build feelings of acceptance and self-worth in Indian children, but they probably are not sufficient to prepare Indian children to survive and prosper in the complex urban society of today or, what is more relevant, of tomorrow. It is to be hoped that Indians who are influential in Indian education do not allow themselves to focus so intently upon the past or upon guarding the present small gains in Indian controlled education that they lose sight of needs to build contemporary Indian models, needs to secure quality education for their children, and needs to understand the non-Indian, as well as the Indian, world.

2) Other Indian witnesses were concerned that education would be used as a colonialist tool, or that it would disrupt the simple social organization of Indian community.

The first objection seemed to underlie some of the efforts to control Indian education and to establish exclusively Indian programs. The control of education by Indians in a reservation setting would appear to be a realistic goal when contrasted with the Indian control of education in an urban environment, yet few of the Indians who were concerned with this issue seemed to recognize the difference. If the reservation model is held as an ideal, it is likely that many Indians will be disillusioned with the insufficiency of Indian control over education in the city. Broader public policy such as integration, the factor of unavoidable daily interaction with non-Indians, and competition from other ethnic and citizen groups may be expected to dilute total Indian control over the education of Indian children. Only an exclusively Indian schooling arrangement in the city could counter these influences, and that does not appear to be likely. Also, it might be unwise, if the goal of Indian education were to be the equipping of Indian children to do well in an interracial society.

The second objection -- that education creates social classes among urban Indians -- was cause for the expression of deeply felt opinions during the hearings. That education contributes to social stratification cannot be denied, yet there must be ways for a vital community to legitimate those members of the community with the skills acquired through education which are needed to achieve the common good. It may be a measure of the disintegration of some contemporary Indian communities from their aboriginal states that a major source of renewal, adaptation, and strength -- educated and competent members -- apparently have difficulty being accepted.

3) More Indian awareness of, and concern about, the critical problems of education was evident in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Minneapolis than was the case in Phoenix and Dallas. It is possible to suggest two reasons for this difference, based in part upon the general picture revealed for each city during the hearings. First, the extent of Indian community organization in general seemed to be greater in the first three cities, and it may be that one result was a kind of mobilization of Indian public opinion on educational matters. Second, the social and political climate in the first three cities may have provided more liberal and humanistic reinforcement for Indian activity, including mobilization of activity and organization around Indian education.

4) There was much feeling that responsibility for failure in Indian education rested with the schools. While it is easy to understand the historic origins of resentment toward dominant society schools, and it is easy to believe that public schooling today is frequently not very adept, there is in the testimony of many Indians the sense that schools are expected to impart a large measure of the self-worth desired by Indians. It is doubtful if the schools can perform that task without a strong sense of group solidarity within Indian families and communities.

5) The scope of counseling services desired reflected the seriousness of the adaptation problems facing many Indian young people. It was clear that strictly academic and vocational counseling was not sufficient for many, and that counselors were desired who would be confidantes as well as

persons to depend upon in emergencies. Given the scarcity of resources for public school counseling, the problem seems to be a serious one. Even the California Indian Education Association admonition that Indian parents should counsel and guide their children is less than satisfying, since many Indian parents apparently are not equipped to guide their children's development in the new surroundings of the city.

6) The shortage of economic resources for the education of Indians was clearly described in the hearings, and it also was apparent that Indian poverty was a large handicap in the education of Indian children. Strikingly, there was an absence of distinct pleas for elevating Indian family income through such means as direct subsidy or improved employment.

7) Valuable suggestions were made by some persons during the hearings for helping teachers to deal better with Indian children. There was divided opinion about the desirability of Indian teachers and exclusively Indian schools. Most of those who spoke about teachers seemed to feel that they could learn new ways to relate to Indian children, but the response of those school officials who appeared did not indicate that there was significant institutional mobilization to make it possible for the teachers to learn.

8) Indian involvement, control, participation, and self-determination in the educational process was a popular topic in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Minneapolis, but not in Phoenix and Dallas. In some cases there were concrete plans to accomplish these goals, and in other instances there were Indian programs already operating which embodied such principles. Nevertheless, there was some testimony which appeared to be largely rhetorical. There was a heavy emphasis upon removing books that were disagreeable and replacing them with Indian publications and books written by Indians. The possibility that this could lead to a kind of censorship and a pursuit of chauvinistic goals at the expense of accurate portrayal of historic and contemporary Indian life was not discussed. In general, apart from notions of achieving power and control in a broad sense, there was an absence of detail about the requisite social organization and the operational aspects of Indian involvement, control, participation, and self-determination.

FOOTNOTES*

¹Phoenix, p. 95, Lee Cook.

²Los Angeles, p. 208, Sunne Wright.

³San Francisco, p. 18, Anthony Matcha.

⁴Los Angeles, op. 217-218, Background Information Report.

⁵Dallas, p. 5, Richard Lester.

⁶Dallas, p. 32, Dan J. Willis.

⁷Dallas, p. 42, Raven Hail.

⁸Dallas, p. 46, Virginia Edwards.

⁹Minneapolis, p. 9, Chris C. Cavender.

¹⁰Minneapolis, p. 108, Raymond Baines.

¹¹San Francisco, p. 19, Anthony Matcha.

* The basic documents for this report are:

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Los Angeles, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," December 16-17, 1968. Mimeograph. 311 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Dallas, Texas of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," February 13-14, 1969. Mimeograph. 213 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," March 18-19, 1969. Mimeograph. 209 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in San Francisco, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, April 11-12, 1969. Mimeograph. 249 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Phoenix, Arizona of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," April 17-18, 1969. Mimeograph. 145 pp.

In the above footnoting, these volume references are abbreviated.

¹²Los Angeles: p. 98, Henry Roberts; p. 159, Rev. Stoneking; pp. 216-220, Background to Proposed Program for the University of California in Indian Education; p. 253, William Ng Statement to Bureau of Indian Affairs; p. 267, Clem Janis; p. 272, Jesse Schaeffer; Dallas: pp. 17-18, Forrest Kassanavoid; p. 68, Bernice Johnson; p. 97, Joe Tafoya; p. 140, Wanda Kostzuta; San Francisco: p. 5, Earl Livermore; p. 10, Earl Livermore; p. 30, Horace Spencer; p. 221, David Risling; Minneapolis: pp. 20-21, Bill Craig; p. 26, Bruce Baird; p. 28, Pearl Bisson; p. 37, Will Antell; p. 56, John Buckanaga; pp. 59-62, Fred Roberts; p. 121, Delores Raisch; p. 159, Ada Deer; pp. 180-181, Emily Peake; p. 183, E. Holstein; Phoenix: p. 18, Diane Porter; p. 29, Cecil Corbett; p. 57, Milton Bluehouse; p. 81, Hollis Choigh; p. 86, Eva Metikos; pp. 123-124, Nelson Jose.

¹³Los Angeles, p. 211, Sunne Wright.

¹⁴Los Angeles, p. 268, Clem Janis.

¹⁵Minneapolis, p. 171, Clyde Bellecourt.

¹⁶Phoenix, pp. 12-13, Georgina F. Perkins.

¹⁷Phoenix, p. 15, Diane Porter.

¹⁸Minneapolis, pp. 90-98, 105, Charles Deegan.

¹⁹Phoenix, p. 17, Diane Porter.

²⁰Phoenix, p. 19, Diane Porter.

²¹Murray Wax. "American Indian Education as a Cultural Transaction," Teacher's College Record, Vol. 64, 1963, pp. 693-704.

²²Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate. Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969).

²³Los Angeles: p. 62, William Hensley; p. 218, Background Information; p. 268, Clem Janis; Minneapolis: p. 7, Chris C. Cavender; p. 14, Larry Bisonette; p. 29, Pearl Bisson; p. 33, Will Antell; p. 41, Rosemary Christensen; p. 45, Charles V. Buckanaga; p. 54, John Buckanaga; San Francisco: p. 5, Earl Livermore; p. 75, Mary Lee Justice; p. 202, Morgan Otis.

²⁴San Francisco, pp. 116-117, Stella Leach.

²⁵Phoenix, p. 129, Joshua Porter.

²⁶Phoenix, p. 54, Hazel Harold.

27 Minneapolis, p. 21, Bill Craig.

28 Los Angeles, p. 59, Elijah Smith.

29 Phoenix, p. 54, Mrs. Hazel Harold.

30 San Francisco, pp. 4-5, Earl Livermore.

31 Minneapolis, p. 41, Rosemary Christensen.

32 Minneapolis, pp. 58-59, John Buckanaga.

33 Los Angeles, p. 212, Sunne Wright.

34 Minneapolis, p. 34, Will Antell.

35 Minneapolis, p. 172, Clyde Bellecourt.

36 Minneapolis, p. 23, LaDonna Harris.

37 Los Angeles, p. 42, Elijah Smith.

38 Phoenix, pp. 41-42, Lee Cook.

39 Los Angeles, p. 243, Background Information from Indian Student Action Council.

40 Minneapolis, pp. 22-23, Bill Craig.

41 Minneapolis, p. 57, John Buckanaga.

42 Dallas, p. 71, Bernice Johnson.

43 Dallas, p. 117, La Donna Harris.

44 San Francisco, p. 5, Earl Livermore.

45 San Francisco, p. 55, H.E. Papke.

46 Los Angeles, p. 91, Francis Allen.

47 Los Angeles, p. 96, Ernie Peters.

48 Los Angeles, p. 102, Tim Wapato.

49 Los Angeles, p. 98, Henry Roberts.

50 Phoenix, pp. 12-13, Georgina F. Perkins.

51Phoenix, pp. 14-15, Diane Porter.

52Phoenix, p. 21, Diane Porter.

53Phoenix, pp. 28-29, Eva Metikos.

54Phoenix, pp. 45, 94, Lee Cook.

55Los Angeles, p. 43, Elijah Smith.

56Los Angeles, pp. 10-40, Mrs. Wanda Adamson.

57Los Angeles, pp. 57, 94-95, Noel Campbell, Ernie Peters.

58Los Angeles, pp. 243-245, Background Information from Indian Student Action Council.

59Los Angeles, p. 55, Elijah Smith, Roger Jourdain.

60Los Angeles, p. 134, D.L. Mahoney.

61Minneapolis, p. 56, John Buckanaga.

62Dallas, p. 5, Richard Lester.

63Dallas, p. 11, George Younkin.

64Dallas, p. 18, Forrest Kassanavoid, Robert W. Beam.

65Dallas, p. 22, Joe Woodard.

66Phoenix, p. 27, Eva Metikos.

67San Francisco, p. 176, La Donna Harris.

68Dallas, p. 124, Iola Hayden.

69Los Angeles, p. 71, written statement of Frederick G. Fox.

70Minneapolis, pp. 36-40, Will Antell.

71San Francisco, p. 17, Anthony Matcha.

72Dallas, pp. 55-56, Mrs. John Archuleta.

73Dallas, p. 6, Richard Lester; p. 39, Juanita Ahtone; p. 46, Virginia Edwards.

74Dallas, p. 139, Wanda Kostzuta.

75 Dallas, p. 139, Wanda Kostzuta.

76 Phoenix, p. 88, Eva Metikos.

77 Dallas, pp. 126-127, Eula B. Palmer.

78 Minneapolis, p. 99, Charles Deegan; p. 180, Emily Peake.

79 Minneapolis, p. 7, Chris C. Cavender.

80 Minneapolis, p. 138, Bob Carr.

81 Los Angeles, p. 47, Elijah Smith.

82 Dallas, p. 6, Richard Lester.

83 Dallas, p. 143, Joe Woodard.

84 Minneapolis, pp. 97, 99, Charles Deegan.

85 San Francisco, p. 7, Earl Livermore.

86 Phoenix, p. 89, Reverend Joedd Miller.

87 Dallas, p. 132, Robert W. Beams.

88 Los Angeles, pp. 277-279, Elijah Smith.

89 Los Angeles, p. 47, Elijah Smith.

90 Minneapolis, pp. 9-10, Chris C. Cavender.

91 Los Angeles, p. 279, Elijah Smith.

92 Minneapolis, p. 34, Will Antell; p. 41, Rosemary Christensen; p. 54, John Buckanaga.

93 Minneapolis, p. 42, Rosemary Christensen.

94 Minneapolis, p. 43, La Donna Harris, Rosemary Christensen.

95 Minneapolis, pp. 43-44, La Donna Harris, Rosemary Christensen.

96 Minneapolis, p. 58, John Buckanaga, La Donna Harris.

97 San Francisco, p. 10, Earl Livermore.

98 Minneapolis, p. 28, Pearl Bisson.

⁹⁹Dallas, p. 12, George Younkin.

¹⁰⁰Los Angeles, p. 280, Meredith Quinn.

¹⁰¹Los Angeles, p. 53, Elijah Smith.

¹⁰²Los Angeles, p. 72, Don Richardson.

¹⁰³Los Angeles, pp. 75-76, La Donna Harris.

¹⁰⁴Los Angeles, p. 76, Don Richardson.

¹⁰⁵Los Angeles, p. 208, Sunne Wright.

¹⁰⁶Los Angeles, p. 210, Sunne Wright.

¹⁰⁷Los Angeles, p. 87, Steven S. Jones.

¹⁰⁸Dallas, p. 43, Raven Hail.

¹⁰⁹Los Angeles, p. 44, Elijah Smith.

¹¹⁰Los Angeles, p. 44, Elijah Smith.

¹¹¹San Francisco, p. 198, Mcrgan Otis.

¹¹²Los Angeles, p. 209, Sunne Wright.

¹¹³Los Angeles, pp. 222-223, William Carmack.

¹¹⁴Los Angeles, pp. 211-212, Sunne Wright.

¹¹⁵Los Angeles, p. 61, La Donna Harris; p. 215, Proposed Program for the University of California in Indian Education; Minneapolis, p. 24, Bill Craig; p. 50, Professor Frank Miller; p. 173, Clyde Bellecourt; San Francisco; p. 65, La Donna Harris.

¹¹⁶Los Angeles, p. 210, Sunne Wright.

¹¹⁷San Francisco, p. 219, David Risling.

¹¹⁸Los Angeles, p. 213, Sunne Wright; Minneapolis, p. 22, Bill Craig.

¹¹⁹San Francisco, p. 65, Richard Oakes.

¹²⁰San Francisco, p. 68, Mary Lee Justice.

¹²¹Minneapolis, pp. 10-11, Chris C. Cavender.

122 Los Angeles, pp. 48-49, Elijah Smith.

123 Los Angeles, p. 73, Don Richardson.

124 Los Angeles, p. 81, Monroe Price.

125 Los Angeles, p. 78, William Hensley.

126 Minneapolis, p. 26, Bruce Baird.

127 Minneapolis, p. 35, Will Antell.

128 Minneapolis, pp. 60-61, Fred Roberts.

129 Minneapolis, p. 131, Donald Bevis.

130 Minneapolis, pp. 131-132, La Donna Harris, Donald Bevis.

131 Los Angeles, p. 80, Monroe Price.

132 Los Angeles, p. 214, Proposed Program for the University of California in Indian Education.

133 San Francisco, p. 76, Mary Lee Justice.

134 San Francisco, p. 76, Earl Livermore.

135 Minneapolis, p. 7, Chris C. Cavender.

136 Minneapolis, pp. 14-15, Larry BISONETTE.

137 Minneapolis, p. 19, Larry BISONETTE.

138 Minneapolis, p. 129, Donald Bevis.

139 Minneapolis, p. 37, Will Antell.

140 Minneapolis, pp. 33-34, Will Antell.

141 Coombs, L. Madison. The Educational Disadvantage of the Indian American Student. (Las Cruces. New Mexico: New Mexico State University, Educational Resources Information Center, Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools.) July, 1970, pp. 91-95.

142 Minneapolis, p. 36, Will Antell.

143 Minneapolis, p. 39, La Donna Harris.

144 Minneapolis, p. 39, Will Antell.

¹⁴⁵Dallas, p. 86, Bill Church.

¹⁴⁶Phoenix, p. 20, Diane Porter.

¹⁴⁷Los Angeles, pp. 70-71, Statement of Frederick G. Fox Regarding the Urbanization of American Indians; pp. 72-74, Don Richardson.

¹⁴⁸Los Angeles, pp. 73-74, Don Richardson.

¹⁴⁹Los Angeles, p. 75, Don Richardson.

¹⁵⁰Los Angeles, p. 78, William Hensley.

¹⁵¹Los Angeles, p. 78, Don Richardson.

¹⁵²Minneapolis, p. 128, Donald Bevis.

¹⁵³Minneapolis, pp. 129-130, Donald Bevis.

¹⁵⁴Dallas, pp. 143-144, Joe Woodard.

¹⁵⁵Dallas, pp. 144-145, Joe Woodard.

APPENDIX

Problems in Indian Education and Recommendations
from the California Indian Education Association.
Testimony of Elijah Smith in Los Angeles,
December 16, 1968.

Problems

- 1) Many teachers do not understand adjustment problems of Indian children to the classroom situation. There is little communication between the teacher and the parent. The parent rarely visits the schools except when they come to the teacher or administrator upset about some serious problem. In turn, the teacher rarely familiarizes himself with the actual home situation of the Indian pupil, which results in severe misunderstanding, including schoolwork assignments, which many of the pupils find impossible to carry out in their formal home environment.
- 2) The majority of the textbooks contain almost nothing about the character of Indian culture prior to the coming of the white man.
- 3) The schools have little available in audio-visual and supplemental materials to make Indian culture and history vivid and intriguing to all students.
- 4) Some of the materials used in schools do much damage to the Indian child's sense of identity and personal worth. The entire educational structure should be aware that although basic differences exist between Indian and non-Indian cultures, these are not necessarily bad but can be used to make human interaction more meaningful and successful for all children.
- 5) Some of the things taught in school may be contrary to what the Indian child has learned at home, thereby causing severe emotional conflicts and frustrations.
- 6) Behavioral patterns of many Indian parents need to be modified in order to provide the home environment necessary for building a positive self-image.
- 7) Not enough Indian parents involve themselves in schools and school problems.
- 8) Rural schools do not always take full advantage of various educational programs available to them.

9) The State of California has been negligent in its responsibility to provide adequate education for its Indians.

10) Federal educational programs available to Indians in other states are not available in California.

Since the reason for examining problem areas was to arrive at solutions, the participants made certain recommendations and I will give them to you as we have them listed.

The first recommendation was made to the parents of Indian children.

I. The conference participants felt very strongly that the role of the Indian parent is of crucial significance. Parents must assume greater responsibility for the educational and emotional development of their children and not expect the school to succeed where parents fail. More specifically,

A. Parents should assume the responsibility of counseling and guiding their children at home.

B. Parents should provide training in Indian history and culture at home to supplement community and school efforts.

C. Parents should participate actively in organizations such as Parent-Teachers Association and should visit the school frequently, not just when their child has a problem.

D. Parents should help the Indian community develop educational and recreational programs for youth.

E. Parents should attend classes in order to prepare themselves for helping their children, if the parents lack suitable background.

F. Parents should be willing to serve as teachers in Head Start programs and as teacher aides and resource persons in regular classrooms; and

G. Parents should work to improve their self-image by setting better examples for their children within the home and community.

Our second recommendation was made to the Indian community.

II. The local Indian community must better organize itself so as to provide services to youth not now available and so as to be in a position to help the schools improve their educational programs.

Specifically, we gave these recommendations:

A. Indian-centered clubs should be encouraged, along with museums, arts and crafts workshops, recreation programs, and Head Start classes where these do not now exist.

B. Indian self-help or benevolent societies might be organized to provide financial assistance to pupils and families in times of emergency.

C. Indian people should have greater contact with teachers, counselors, administrators and school board members by means of formal and informal meetings arranged by the Indian community.

D. To achieve the latter a local education organization may be necessary, and

E. The Indian community should develop resource people for use in schools and should put on lectures about Indian subjects for the benefit of Indians and non-Indians.

The third recommendation was made to the school's administrators and school board members.

III. The school should serve all people in the total community. Indian parents and organizations must be involved in the life of the school and in making decisions about the school's program. Communication between the school and Indian parents must be improved. The local Indian heritage must be recognized as a key part of the school curriculum reflecting as it does the heritage of the local region for all pupils. More specifically,

A. Indian parents should be encouraged to be involved in the school as school board members, resource people, teacher aides, volunteer counselors, and PTA members.

B. School personnel must establish friendly contacts with Indian people which means that they must overcome prejudice and participate, when appropriate, in Indian organized activities and get to know parents.

C. Better lines of communication should be established between the school and Indian parents, perhaps by means of frequent contacts as has already been recommended.

D. The school must show respect for the Indian language and heritage but at the same time must allow the Indian people to determine for themselves what "Indian" means today. That is, the school must rely heavily upon Indian resource people in the development of curriculum dealing with the Indian heritage, especially as it relates to the present day.

E. School districts with Indian pupils should make every effort to secure certified staff of Indian background, in addition to utilizing local Indian adults and older youth as aides, tutors, and so forth.

Our fourth recommendation was made to the colleges and universities. This particular recommendation is one we like to emphasize:

IV. The conference participants strongly recommend that California's colleges and universities strengthen their programs in California Indian history and culture, develop special programs for teachers of California Indian pupils, establish more scholarships for Indian students, and take steps to insure that full information on college requirements and scholarships are made available to Indian high school students. More specifically,

A. Courses should be available, where feasible, on California Indian languages, taught for the benefit of average students and not solely for students of linguistics.

B. Additional courses on California Indian history and culture should be available, especially for prospective and experienced teachers, and existing courses dealing with California history should be altered or lengthened so as to allow for full treatment of all minority groups' contributions.

C. One or more California state college or university campuses should be strongly encouraged to develop a center for Indian studies in order to provide special training for teachers, Indian leaders, social workers, and so forth. For example, to carry out research projects relating to California Indians, and in order to help develop Indian-related materials for use in the schools. Such a center should

work closely with an Indian advisory panel and with Indian organizations in order to insure that the scholars involved do not simply exploit Indian culture, archaeological sites, and so forth.

D. Special interdisciplinary training programs should be developed for prospective and experienced teachers emphasizing anthropology, sociology, social psychology and minority group history and culture. These programs must include procedures whereby the student teachers become familiar with the specific language, history, and contemporary culture of the people with whom they will be working, perhaps by means of instruction "in the field" after employment is secured but prior to beginning actual teaching.

E. Scholarships or other aids should be provided to encourage graduate work in Indian education.

F. Special counseling and tutoring arrangements should be developed to help Indian students overcome high school deficiencies.

G. More dormitories at economical rates for rural student at junior and state colleges should be provided.

In California we have some Indian groups that are very isolated. It is impossible to communicate. So we are recommending that dormitories be established.

H. Work-study opportunities should be provided for Indian students.

I. Special procedures should be developed for insuring that minority high school students are fully aware of college requirements and scholarship aid programs.

Our fifth recommendation was made to the teachers and prospective teachers:

V. The conference participants recommend strongly that teachers receive special pre-service and in-service training designed to thoroughly familiarize themselves with the special background of the Indian child and with the history and values of the local Indian community. Teachers working with Indian pupils need to be especially empathetic and prejudice-free individuals, they need to interact in a friendly manner with Indian parents more frequently, and they should be receptive to the use of Indian adults as resource people and aides in their classrooms. More specifically, we gave these recommendations:

A. Teachers need to understand thoroughly the background of the Indian children with whom they are working. This requires an understanding of the local and/or general Indian heritage, and the social structure of the region, in addition to, a general knowledge of Indian history and culture.

B. Teachers should respect the heritage and values of the local Indian community because such respect is closely related to the development of a positive self-image on the part of Indian youth.

C. Teachers should become familiar with at least commonly used words and phrases from the local Indian language as one means for showing respect for the native culture.

D. Teachers need to be aware of their own middle-class assumptions and prejudices, and of their own personality traits and manners, so as to be able to modify those aspects of their behavior which inhibit easy interaction with Indian pupils and parents.

E. Teachers should be trained to utilize Indian aides and resource people in the classroom and should be helped to overcome any fear of having non-teacher adults in the classroom.

The sixth recommendation was to counselors and administrators.

VI. The conference participants felt that counselors and administrators need to develop the same understanding of the Indian heritage and community as do teachers, and that, in addition, counselors must strive to develop empathetic behavior as regards the shy or alienated child.

A. Counselors must not channel an Indian child into a largely athletic or non-college program until the child has clearly demonstrated that he wishes to be a "vocational" major. Even then, the vocational programs available at junior colleges should be kept open as options for future education.

B. Schools should be sure that Indian pupils are made aware of scholarship opportunities and college requirements at an early age.

C. Work study programs should be available as an alternative to dropping out of school completely and every effort should be made to keep "dropouts" in school.

D. An Indian person, preferably an older person familiar with the language and culture of his own people, should be used as a liaison person between school counselors and parents.

E. An "opportunities" counselor, preferably an Indian, should be available to work with both parents and youth.

Our seventh recommendation was made on the Indian heritage.

VII. The conference participants believed very strongly that the Indian heritage should be an integral part of the programs of the school and the Indian community. The use of the Indian heritage in the school is especially important for helping Indian pupils develop a sense of identity and personal worth. Local Indian people must be actively involved in any programs developed by a school that touch upon the Indian heritage. More specifically, these were recommended:

A. The Indian people must unify and emphasize their culture, and learn how to retain it and teach it to the younger generation.

B. Indian people should be brought into the school to help professional staff develop materials for the curriculum and to teach arts and crafts, dancing, singing, and so forth.

C. The school, Indian adults, and children together should develop projects to record local Indian history, protect historical cemetery sites, construct exhibits, preserve Indian place-names, and put on pageants.

D. Non-Indians must recognize that the Indian heritage is a living evolving legacy which has not been static in the past and is not static today and that the "core" of being Indian is being a member of an Indian community and not a particular style of dress or ornamentation.

Our eighth recommendation was made to textbooks and mass media.

VIII. Indian people are not pleased with most of the textbooks utilized in the schools. The participants recommended the following:

- A. That textbooks used in California be changed so as to deal accurately with the history and culture of California Indians.
- B. That new supplementary materials dealing specifically with California Indian history and culture be prepared.
- C. That all texts include pictures of children of different racial backgrounds, including Indians.
- D. That the "mass media" television, movies and so forth, deal accurately and adequately with minority groups. For example: in documentary materials, Indian actors should be utilized for Indian roles and the use of stereotypes should be discarded.

Our ninth recommendation was made to the State of California.

IX. The participants felt that the above recommendations should be of vital concern to State officials and that they should make every effort to carry out these suggested programs. Specifically:

- A. That state financing should be made available in support of recommendations made in this report, such as the establishment of a Center for California Indian studies.
- B. That Johnson O'Malley funds be utilized at the state and regional levels to help implement other recommendations made in this report; for example: to finance meetings of Indian people and teachers to aid in the teacher training programs referred to earlier, and to pay the salary of a specialist in Indian education who would be a person intimately familiar with the culture and history of California Indians.
- C. That adult education programs be expanded especially in terms of preparing parents to help their children educationally.
- D. That the State of California request its fair share of funds for Indian education available hopefully under the Johnson O'Malley Act.
- E. That these funds be utilized under the direction and voice and supervision of the Indian people.

Our tenth recommendation was made to the Federal Government.

X. While many of the above recommendations should be of vital concern to Government officials, the conference participants felt that government officials should do something about the fact that the California Indians are being discriminated against, considering that educational programs available to Indians of other states are not always available to California Indians.

A. That the Federal Government make Johnson O'Malley funds available to California Indians under the direction of California Indians.

B. That all possible college scholarships (such as those of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) be available to California Indians.

C. That Head Start pre-school programs be expanded with more all-year activities, a smaller pupil number requirement, and more local Indian involvement.

D. That local Indian communities in California should be actively encouraged to develop educational programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

E. We hope that the federal agencies carefully consider ways and means in which federal funds can be utilized to encourage the adoption of these recommendations which we have made to the State of California and to the Government.

[Los Angeles, pp. 42-50, Elijah Smith]